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France Strives To Rescue Reform From Labor Unrest

Rail Workers Reject Government Overture As Walkouts Escalate

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Service

PARIS — Faced with the worst bout of labor unrest in nearly a decade, Prime Minister Alain Juppé struggled Tuesday to salvage his ambitious plan to overhaul France's welfare system amid signs that the escalating strikes are inflicting serious damage to the world's fourth-biggest economy.

For the fifth day in a row, the country's public transport network was paralyzed as bus, train and Métro services were canceled by striking rail unions. Work in many other sectors was disrupted as employees were stranded at home or stuck in traffic jams 30 kilometers (20 miles) long.

[French rail workers said Tuesday night that they had decided to continue their strike, Reuters reported. "The strike continues tomorrow," a union delegate said after nearly five hours of talks with officials of the state railroad company SNCF. Strikes were also expected to halt virtually all service on the Paris-area Métro and the city's buses.

[Transportation Minister Bernard Pons had indicated some flexibility on a five-year plan to restore the heavily indebted railroad. But he left the door open to changes in the railroad workers' retirement plan, which the labor unions see as a central issue in the dispute.]

The government insists it cannot afford to back down or else one of Europe's most generous social security systems would soon be driven into bankruptcy. The austerity plan is intended to rein in public deficits within the next two years so that France can satisfy the criteria established for a single European currency. But ever since Mr. Juppé unveiled his package of reforms two weeks ago, angry rumblings in the streets have grown louder. Besides the chaos in public transport, France's five million civil servants have twice gone on strike to protest sacrifices in their pension program.

Students also have been staging protests

See FRANCE, Page 7

A Revolution for Japan: The Boss May Be Younger

By Sandra Sugawara
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — In a land where the age of employees often determines the phrases used to address them, the depth of the bow they receive and who their friends are, the seeds of a workplace revolution are being sown by men such as Yoshiyuki Shinohara.

Mr. Shinohara, the 52-year-old director of the Fine Chemical Department at Mitsui Petrochemical Industries, is doing something radical for a manager here. He is supervising people older than himself, and in doing so is helping shatter a social order that has for decades been touted as the heart of Japan Inc.'s economic success.

For decades, companies have taken fresh college graduates and molded them into loyal company men. The pay at Japanese companies was designed so that incomes would increase as personal responsibilities — children and their housing and education — increased. Employees from the same age group received raises and promotions together, with the lockstep precision of the military.

Employees identified themselves by the year they joined the company, as in, "Hi, I'm Suzuki, class of 1967." They would know by that greeting whether they were talking to a senior manager or someone junior to them. Typically offices were designed without partitions and with desks close together. Underlying all this was the goal of improving group, not individual, performance.

Now as Japan struggles to overcome a prolonged economic slump and a high yen, corporations have begun the delicate process of tearing down the old order.

"The majority of Japanese companies intend to move to a new system," said Shigeru Tanaka, a consultant in Tokyo with Hay Management Consultants.

Each week brings new announcements from Japanese companies about plans for



The first civilian flight into Sarajevo in nearly four years taxiing on the runway Tuesday as Turkish officials arrived for reconstruction talks with Bosnians.

For NATO Forces in Bosnia, Big and Varied Risks

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

BUDAPEST — A NATO force of up to 60,000 soldiers will face enormous risks in Bosnia as it seeks to carry out the peace deal reached over 22 days of negotiations in Dayton, Ohio, according to Western officials and experts on the Balkans.

Enemies as banal as the brutal winter weather and as mysterious as a cabal of Balkan businessmen could conspire to turn the U.S.-led initiative into a morass, the officials and military officers said. Casualties are inevitable, they noted, pointing out that in the three and a half years since the United Nations deployed troops in the former Yugoslavia, 214 UN soldiers have

been killed and 1,451 have been wounded. Many of the wounded have been maimed by mines. General Dennis Reimer, the U.S. Army's chief of staff, estimated

NEWS ANALYSIS

recently that 6 million mines had been planted in Bosnia — many of them in uncharted fields that are now covered by snow. Most of those fields lie in the two-and-a-half-mile-wide (four-and-a-half-kilometer-wide) "zone of separation" between the warring factions, where U.S. and other foreign troops are to be deployed.

"While the UN job was difficult, they avoided trouble, often didn't shoot back and generally tried to keep a low profile,"

a Western military officer said. "NATO's work will be a lot harder because it will be viewed by some as an aggressor. I expect there will be a lot of angry men gunning for us and hoping to spill blood."

UN officials and Western officers said the most serious threat to NATO peacekeepers will occur during the surrender of territory as negotiated in the Dayton agreement.

Under that plan, the Muslim-Croatian federation will have to give back 15½ square miles of land in northwestern Bosnia that was captured in a September offensive against the Serbs. Already, Croatian gunmen are reportedly burning Mrkojicgrad and Sipovo, the towns scheduled to be returned. The fate of the

key facility in this territory — the Bocac hydroelectric power plant, which will revert to the Serbs so that they can light their biggest city, Banja Luka — is unknown.

NATO officials so far have not said what they will do if this type of destruction occurs while they are deployed in Bosnia to supervise the implementation of the plan.

For their part, the Bosnian Serbs will have to pull out of parts of Sarajevo that they control, specifically the suburbs of Ilidza, Ilidza, Grbavica and Vogošća.

The Bosnian Serbs contend that about 120,000 Serbs live in the parts of Sarajevo that are to be handed over to Muslim-Croatian control. Protests erupted on the

See BALKANS, Page 6

AGENDA

British and Irish End IRA Impasse

LONDON (AP) — Britain and Ireland achieved a breakthrough Tuesday on Northern Ireland, announcing they had reached a formula to overcome the long-standing deadlock on IRA weaponry.

Hours before President Bill Clinton was due to arrive, Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland and his deputy, Dick Spring, flew here for a surprise meeting with Prime Minister John Major.

Mr. Major's office said agreement had been reached on the "twin track" approach — negotiations paralleled by an international commission that would take up the weapons issue.

The meeting was set after more than 24 hours of intense diplomatic activity in London and Dublin.

The issue that brought peacemaking efforts to a standstill is whether the Irish Republican Army must start to disarm before its allied Sinn Féin party can join negotiations with other parties in Northern Ireland.

Dow Jones		Trib Index	
Up	7.22	Up	0.49%
5078.10		128.41	
The Dollar		Tues. close	
Yen	143.33	Previous close	143.75
Pound	1.543		1.5525
Yen	101.20		101.73
FF	4.9135		4.9225

See ORDER, Page 7



MASSACRE REMEMBERED — South Korean radicals amid tear gas fumes Tuesday as they tried to attack the Seoul house of ex-President Chun Doo Hwan, who could face trial for the 1980 Kwangju massacre. Page 4.

U.S. Asks Syria to Help Stop Attacks on Israel

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The United States pressed Syria on Tuesday to use its influence to halt Hezbollah rocket attacks against Israel and sought to capitalize on new peace signs by saying it will send a senior official, Dennis Ross, back to the region next week.

He will press the countries to resume the process, an official said, citing comments by Israeli and Syrian foreign ministers about "their intention to advance" talks.

Related articles, Page 2.

PAGE TWO

Personality Cult Covers Turkmenistan

THE AMERICAS

More Acrimony Over Quebec

ASIA

Asian Navies Go for Submarines

EUROPE

Mediterranean Free-Trade Pledge

Opinion

Page 10. Crossword

Books

Page 12. Sports

International Classified

Page 4.

Clinton Gets Cautious Support on Bosnia Plan

Republicans Are Silent After President Makes Case for Sending GIs

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Crucial Republican voices in Congress withheld their fire Tuesday on the plan to send American troops to Bosnia, apparently in a sign that President Bill Clinton's appeal for public support had achieved its initial goal.

Mr. Clinton pressed his offensive Tuesday, discussing the Bosnia plan with leaders of Congress before leaving on a five-day European tour.

Overall, reaction in both Congress and among the public to the president's speech on Monday night was mixed. But the response from some regular critics was muted or supportive of Mr. Clinton's plan.

The president told a national television audience that without American troops to help enforce the U.S.-brokered peace agreement, "the slaughter of innocents will begin again."

"In the choice between peace and war," he said, "America must choose peace."

The speech was viewed as perhaps Mr. Clinton's most important on a foreign policy issue, one in which he has heavily invested both America's credibility and his own political future.

The president sought to persuade skeptical Americans that there was a national interest, an international responsibility and a humanitarian duty to help enforce the fragile Bosnian peace accord initiated in Dayton, Ohio, last week.

Seeking to reassure them as well, he said that the 20,000 U.S. troops to be sent would have the firepower and the authority both to enforce the peace and to protect themselves while carrying out a mission of clear scope and limited duration.

While many Republicans have opposed the sending of U.S. troops to Bosnia, the immediate response to the president's speech was reserved.

"I want to support the president if I can," Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the majority leader, said Tuesday, calling the speech a "good start."

He added two provisos, saying he planned to question Mr. Clinton about an "exit strategy" for U.S. troops and wanted to know what would be done to allow Bosnian Muslims defend to themselves once the Americans were gone.

The House speaker, Newt Gingrich of Georgia, was also unusually reserved. Like Mr. Dole, Mr. Gingrich chose not to make a formal televised response to the speech, saying that the burden was on Mr. Clinton to persuade uncertain Americans.

The administration went to work immediately to do so.

Just after his speech Monday, the president telephoned former President George Bush and retired General Colin L. Powell, a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to discuss the Bosnia plan. Said Michael McCurry, the White House spokesman, He declined to say whether either endorsed Mr. Clinton's Bosnia policy.

Appearances before congressional com-

See PRESIDENT, Page 6

Tobacco Firms Set Sights on EU Regulators

By Nathaniel C. Nash
New York Times Service

BRUSSELS — Travel in an airplane, eat in a restaurant, go to a bar or a sporting event, and it's unmistakable. Europeans still like to smoke.

Almost 100 million people on the Continent and in Britain spend \$90 billion a year lighting up. Unlike the United States, where anti-smoking fever has made it unfashionable to smoke, Europe has far fewer restrictions — public or private — on smoking.

Still, there are many attempts each year to regulate smoking in Europe, either by central or regional governments. And as in the United States, big tobacco interests fight these efforts aggressively.

They are led by Philip Morris Europe, a unit of the American tobacco giant. For the second time in seven months, the company has begun its own European blitz, buying full-page ads complaining about the threat to smokers from what it sees as excessive regulation.

While company officials in Europe say their campaign is aimed at the many attempts by governments to regulate smoking, the primary target seems to be the headquarters of the European Union here in Brussels.

In May, Philip Morris ads in publications like The Financial Times, The Economist and the International Herald

See SMOKE, Page 7

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The Fatherland First / Opulent Palaces Amid Grinding Poverty

Turkmen Fall Under the Sway of Personality Cult

By Alessandra Stanley
New York Times Service

ASHKABAD, Turkmenistan — High-stepping soldiers and twirling children in native costume marched in tight formation past the balcony of their leader, chanting his name and brandishing his portrait.

In a national day parade five years ago, they would have held up Lenin's image. Now, it is the plump, somber face of Turkmenistan's president, Saparmurat A. Niyazov, who has restyled himself Turkmenbashi, or "leader of the Turkmen." His portrait graces every parade float, hotel, office building and park pedestal in the country.

Only four years after claiming independence from Moscow, this Central Asian republic rich in oil and natural gas is under the powerful sway of a new kind of personality cult, one that blends the classic Communist model of Lenin and Mao with the opulent grandeur of the medieval caliphs.

As planes begin their descent to the modern airport named after him, flight attendants recite the pledge of allegiance: "Let my tongue fall out if I betray my fatherland."

The "Sayings of Turkmenbashi" are memorized in every school and university. Government officials wear tiny gold pins of his profile in their lapels and sometimes kiss his jeweled hand.

At the recent unveiling of a French-built \$100-million mosque, named Turkmenbashi, President Niyazov was presented with a giant carpet with his face woven large into the foreground of the holy site.

In an interview, Mr. Niyazov said he felt that the personality cult had gone too far. "I admit it, there are too many portraits, pictures, and monuments," he said. "I don't find any pleasure in it, but the people demand it because of their mentality."

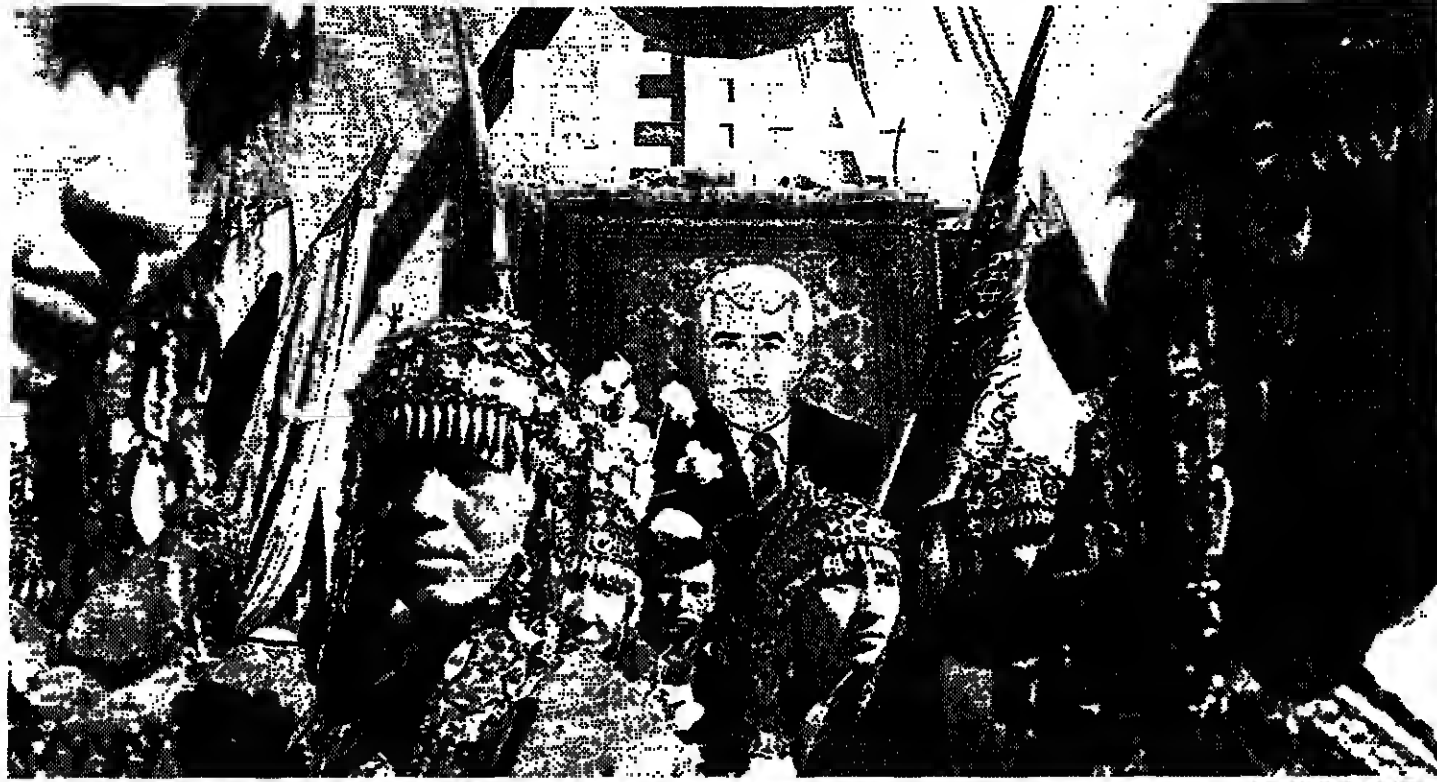
Turkmenistan, a desert country of 4.2 million people, holds the world's fourth-largest reserves of natural gas. Its oil reserves, mostly untapped, are vast. For 800 years, it was a land of nomadic horsemen and their camels; now it is a modern state of grandiose new government buildings and grating poverty on the streets below.

And all of it is controlled by Mr. Niyazov, 55, who was the Communist Party leader in the Soviet era and who moved swiftly to retain the reins of power when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

It was then that Mr. Niyazov began his spending spree. He now has several presidential palaces spread across the republic and two lavish estates on the edges of the capital: a white palace built by a Turkish company soon after independence, and a newer, sprawling, pink Italian-built mansion.

French architects are now designing for him a vast \$100-million gold-domed, white marble presidential palace in the center of town. Mr. Niyazov said that his many palaces were imposed on him from below. "All I wanted was a small, cozy house," he said, but Parliament overruled him.

So far, the republic's expectations of fantastic wealth have not materialized. Russia still controls Turkmenistan's pipelines and since 1993 has diverted gas to other former Soviet republics like Ukraine and Georgia, which cannot afford to pay hard currency and owe Turk-



The image of Turkmenistan's president, Saparmurat A. Niyazov, watching over participants in a celebration in Ashkhabad.

menistan about \$1.3 billion. Turkmenistan, like its oil-producing neighbors, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, is seeking other routes, and has signed pipeline construction agreements with Iran and Pakistan. But revenues from those are years, if not decades, off.

Russian language and culture, imposed on the tribes of Turkmenistan since their conquest in 1881, have all but evaporated. But the Soviet mentality still rules the Turkmen style of governance.

It is a state-controlled economy. Mr. Niyazov says he will move his country toward a free market and democracy. Only slowly. "Our society is not yet mature enough for a civilized multiparty system," he said. "There are no people psychologically or financially prepared to become owners of big factories."

He is unimpressed by Western models. "We shall conduct reforms, but not by copying what you have in America, all that sexual stuff," he said. "If I allowed all those sexual shows on TV or the newspapers, the people would turn me."

The United States has kept Turkmenistan and its neighbor, Uzbekistan, at arm's length, concerned about their human rights abuses and changeable business climates. President Bill Clinton refused to meet with Mr. Niyazov when he went to the United States in 1993. Exxon and Uoocal recently signed ambitious pipeline construction agreements with Turkmenistan, but aside from those far-off projects, there has been little U.S. or European investment.

It was in the expectation of borders of Western businessmen that Mr. Niyazov ordered the creation of Berzengi, a gleaming new hotel and business center outside Ashkhabad. In the middle of a harsh desert, 22 five-star hotels lie in a shimmering row, most of them empty.



Everything is imported, from Pierre Cardin bathroom tiles to porcelain mushrooms.

Meanwhile, the vast majority of Turkmen live in poverty. As inflation climbs and gas revenues fall, living conditions are worsening. At his meeting with tribal elders, Mr. Niyazov affirmed: "Anyone who complains about going without sausage or bread for a day is not a Turkmen."

But even in this tightly controlled police state with one-party rule and press censorship, whispered grumbling can be heard. Though the government provides free electricity, water and gas, there are long bread lines in the cities and salaries are low and paid late. There are shortages of flour, water and cooking oil in the villages.

"Life has always been hard in the desert, but it has gotten harder," said Makzat, 24, a

melon farmer in a desert village 160 kilometers (100 miles) from the capital.

Turkmenistan is one of the region's top cotton producers, but cottonseed oil cannot be found on the bare shelves of state-run stores.

When asked about the president whose portrait was on the wall of the two-room hut he shares with his parents and six brothers and sisters, Makzat started to reply. His father silenced him sharply. "It is wiser not to speak," he said.

But some dissent has become more open. Last July, several hundred demonstrators marched down Ashkhabad's main avenue, handing out leaflets protesting food shortages. The leaders were arrested. Mr. Niyazov said they were drug addicts who had lured students to the rally with vodka and marijuana.

"We have no political prisoners in this country," he said.

Turkmen once looked smugly at Russia and other former Soviet republics, where democracy and free markets appeared to spawn mainly ethnic unrest and crime. Turkmenistan's economic and political stability, many said then, was worth the absence of freedom. Those sentiments appear to be waning.

"I'm interested in politics," said a 23-year-old high school physics teacher who gave his name only as Bait. "But here we have no free expression. People talk about their problems among themselves, but that's as far as it goes. It's too dangerous to say more."

COMING UP

Despite efforts at reform, the police in South Africa remain a largely ineffectual institution, looked on by many as corrupt and undisciplined. The consequences for the level and nature of crime are grim.

Re-entry Hazard
Feared for Satellite
Errant Chinese SpacecraftBy William J. Broad
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A derelict Chinese spy satellite weighing more than two tons is getting ready to plunge back to Earth, which could create a hazard for people on the ground or an intelligence bonanza for any foreign country that can recover its film and cameras.

U.S. experts and industry reports say the satellite might re-enter the atmosphere in March or April.

Most satellites burn up quickly during re-entry. But this one is said to be heavily shielded and designed to survive the fiery plunge to Earth.

Most likely, the satellite will hit the sea in a harmless splash and sink out of sight. Even so, world governments are gearing up for a possible impact on land, which, if it occurs in a heavily populated area, might kill people, embarrass China and prompt an international incident.

The spy satellite, about the size of a small car, is believed to have no nuclear power source on board, so the danger arises only from its speed and weight, which could have the effect of a small bomb exploding.

The craft's impending plunge is reported in the current issue of Aviation Week & Space Technology. It says the satellite, of a type known as FSW-1, was launched in October 1993. After finishing its surveillance mission and after its fiery return, the craft is meant to deploy a parachute for a soft landing on the ground and be picked up by the Chinese army.

But the satellite malfunctioned 10 days after launching, the magazine reports, and is losing altitude.

Aviation Week & Space Technology says space analysts expect the errant satellite to simply plunge back as an inert lump. But they also say there is a slight chance that the spacecraft's recovery system might still function, leading to the possibility of a bizarre situation in which the secret spy craft would come sailing down with its parachute open into a place like Central Park or the Champs Elysées.

The satellite has an orbit inclined 56.5 degrees to the Equator, meaning it could fall onto any part of the Earth between 56.5 degrees north latitude and 56.5 degrees south latitude — a swath that includes most of the Earth's major cities and all of the continental United States.

Major Don Planalp of the air force, a spokesman for the U.S. Space Command in Colorado Springs, said in an interview that 11 sensors, including ground-based radar, were tracking the satellite closely and that its re-entry date was estimated as April 1.

Aviation Week & Space Technology said that American and European analysts predicted that the impact could come in February or March.

Repeated calls to officials at the Chinese Embassy in Washington produced no comment about the satellite, its capabilities or its predicted date of re-entry.

In the past, Chinese officials have spoken of the FSW-1 series of satellites as intended strictly for natural resources monitoring. But Western experts widely regard them as spy satellites with military aims.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Paris Transport to Be Crippled Again

PARIS (AFP) — The militant transport workers who paralyzed much of France on Tuesday in the second nationwide strike in less than a week said they planned to do the same Wednesday.

Rail workers, who have been on strike since Thursday night, spearheaded the movement, but the capital's Metro drivers voted to stay out for another day Wednesday and perhaps longer, after crippling the mass transit system Tuesday. The few Metro trains running were packed tightly with commuters. Public transport in many provincial cities was also severely disrupted.

Members of five trade unions voted to continue the movement in the Metro, regional RER lines and on the buses, an official of the Communist-led CGT trade union said, with the possibility it will go on past Wednesday. Mammoth traffic jams built up outside Paris and in the provinces as nonstriking tried to get to work by car. The RATP, which runs the Paris Metro system, said it feared there would be a total stoppage of Métros and buses by Tuesday evening. Cross-Channel ferries were blocked in the port of Calais, and British ferries working the route were diverted to the Belgian port of Zeebrugge.

Stockholm to Assess Driving Fee

STOCKHOLM (AP) — The city council decided Tuesday to introduce a fee for driving in Stockholm to finance a network of highways around the city and lessen pollution.

The Social Democratic-led council voted, 68 to 23, to start charging drivers 25 kronor (\$3.85) by 1999 for every ride into town, national radio reported.

Life on Saudi Arabia's most exclusive shopping street has returned to normal for the first time since a powerful bomb killed seven people there two weeks ago, residents said. Al-Thalathin street is where a car bomb blasted a National Guard training center run by the United States on Nov. 13. "Traffic was back to normal on both directions in the street for the first time this morning and people are going around for business as usual," a resident said. The street, in Riyadh's fashionable Olaiya area, was closed after the bombing, which killed five Americans and two Indians and wounded 60 people.

Dutch police plan a campaign of rolling strikes Thursday to press for higher pay and better conditions, a spokesman said. Police in various parts of the Netherlands will take turns striking from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. Only emergency cover will be available, and no fines will be issued for minor offenses.

Hundreds of passengers were stranded in Johannesburg on Monday night after South African Airways cabin crews staged a wildcat strike, an airline official said Tuesday.

Northern Israel Pounded by Hezbollah Rockets

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KIRYAT SHMONA, Israel — Hezbollah guerrillas rained a barrage of Katyusha rockets on northern Israel on Tuesday, wounding eight people and causing heavy damage in the most serious attack in six months.

Israelis in this section of the country sandwiched between Lebanon and the Golan Heights fled to underground shelters as the rockets pounded the region. Prime Minister Shimon Peres visited the border area and inspected one of several heavily damaged apartment buildings.

Hezbollah, which is backed

by Syria and seeks to oust Israel from its zone of occupation in southern Lebanon, claimed responsibility for the attack.

"The wide Israeli persistence to practice aggression and terrorism" made the attack necessary, Hezbollah said in a statement in Beirut.

Hezbollah follows a policy of attacking northern Israel whenever Israeli shelling hits civilian villages in the south. Hezbollah said earlier that three of its guerrillas were killed in "confrontations" with Israeli forces in southern Lebanon on Sunday.

The attack drew a warning from Israel's army chief, Lieutenant-General Amnon Shabak,

that the last active war front between Israel and its Arab neighbors could heat up.

"Hezbollah is endangering the well-being of many thousands of residents of south Lebanon," he said. "I think the Lebanese government also should be very troubled over what Hezbollah is doing within Lebanese territory."

Asked in Jerusalem what action Israel might take — its last big incursion into Lebanon was in 1993 — General Shabak said, "The situation requires us to think and to decide and that's exactly what we're doing now."

Minutes after General Sha-

hak spoke, security officials in Lebanon said Israeli jets blasted suspected guerrilla hideouts. Israeli Radio said Katyusha launchers in southern Lebanon were hit.

The attack by Hezbollah began in the morning as Israeli parents were taking their children to school. At least nine salvos of Katyusha rockets landed inside northern Israel, causing serious damage to houses and other buildings, military officials said. Doctors said eight people were slightly hurt.

The last major attack was in June, when a French cook at a Club Med resort was killed.

Rabin Assassination

Israel's police chief said Tuesday that suspects in the killing of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had sought but apparently failed to win rabbinic blessings to carry out an assassination. Reuters reported from Jerusalem.

"They discussed it, talked about it, but so far as I know the rabbis warned them not to carry out this judgment," Chief of Police Assaf Hefetz said on Israel Radio.

Nine religious Jews in their 20s, including the confessed gunman, Yigal Amir, have been arrested in connection with the assassination in Tel Aviv on Nov. 4.

(AFP, Reuters)

Israel Cool
To Syria at
Conference

Agence France-Presse

JERUSALEM — Israel on Tuesday played down the first face-to-face encounter with a Syrian minister in four years, saying there had been no basic change in the two sides' positions when they met at the Barcelona conference of European and Mediterranean nations.

"There has perhaps been some difference in tone, but fundamentally it is difficult to see a real change," said Yossi Beilin, a minister in charge of helping to steer the peace negotiations.

But in an unusual step, Israel moved swiftly to clear Syria of responsibility for recent rocket attacks on northern Israel. Foreign Minister Ehud Barak said in Barcelona: "These bombardments are very serious, but I don't believe they are a response by Syria to our peace proposals."

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THE AMERICAS

Protests Mount Over Movie and Subway Arson, as Dole Joins the Chorus

By Robert D. McFadden
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Columbia Pictures, the maker of the hit movie "Money Train," has said it is "appalled and dismayed" by the subway firebombing that critically injured a subway clerk in New York over the weekend.

But the company declined to comment on a rising chorus of charges in Washington and New York that the film had inspired the attack.

The Senate majority leader, Bob Dole, urged Americans on Monday

to boycott the movie, which contains two scenes in which a pyromaniac squirts flammable liquid into subway booths and ignites it, although the clerks inside escape injury. The film opened last Wednesday and made \$15 million in its first five days.

"The American people have a right to voice their outrage," Mr. Dole, a Kansas Republican, said in a Senate speech, "and they can do so not through calls for government censorship, but by derailing 'Money Train' at the box office."

As the New York victim, Henry

Kaufman, 50, lay near death and jitters infected transit riders and clerks alike, the police assigned extra patrols at subway stations across Brooklyn. They also intensified a manhunt for two arsonists who turned the booth in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood into an inferno early Sunday with a bottle of flammable liquid and a match. From the booths, clerks sell tokens required to pass through the subway turnstiles.

Meanwhile, the crime — with its cinematic images of depraved thugs and a flaming human running into

the night — began to take on wider political and artistic implications as Senator Dole pointed his finger at Hollywood, and Columbia Pictures, City Hall, the Transit Authority and the Transport Workers Union joined a growing debate over responsibility for what happened.

Columbia Pictures and the Transit Authority gave different versions of the extent of the authority's cooperation in making the movie — some shots were filmed in the subway — and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, sounding defensive about film making that brings revenue and recog-

nition to New York, said the city "should not be reading the script of every movie and acting as a censor."

Mr. Dole, who is running for president and has often castigated Hollywood for what he calls its glorification of violence, cited the attack and its "remarkable" similarities to the movie "Money Train" in his Senate speech, noting that Police Commissioner William J. Bratton and the Transit Authority president, Alan F. Kiepper, had cited a possible connection.

And while Mr. Dole said there

was no way yet to know if the attackers were copying the movie and that there was no excuse for their behavior, anyway, he declared:

"Those who work in Hollywood's corporate suites must also be willing to accept their share of the blame. For those in the entertainment industry who too often engage in a pornography of violence as a way to sell movie tickets, it is time for some serious soul-searching."

The movie's maker issued only a brief formal statement about the case on Monday. "Columbia Pictures," it said, "is appalled and dismayed by

this incident, which is an isolated act of senseless violence and should be condemned, as it is unequivocally by the producers and director of this film and the employees of this studio."

The studio declined to comment on allegations that the assailants might have copied the movie or on statements by Mr. Dole and other officials. But a top Columbia executive, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified, called the senator's attack a "disgraceful" attempt to exploit the case for political purposes.

Separatists Scorn
New Chrétien Offer
A Red Flag in Unity WarBy Charles Trueheart
Washington Post Service

TORONTO — No sooner had he unveiled the latest plan to meet demands for Quebec's autonomy when Prime Minister Jean Chrétien of Canada heard a familiar two-part re-

NEWS ANALYSIS

frain, an echo of every recent effort to placate Canada's French quarter: Quebec says the deal doesn't go nearly far enough, and the rest of Canada says it goes way too far.

"It's just words on paper. It means nothing," said Louise Beaudoin, an influential cabinet member in Quebec's provincial government.

"It's an offensive view of the country," said Mike Harcourt, the premier of British Columbia.

Mr. Chrétien announced Tuesday that he was "delivering the goods" on promises he made in an effort to beat back separatist forces in the Quebec referendum campaign last month.

The virtual tie in the Oct. 30 vote, when only 50.6 percent of Quebecers chose the status quo, badly shook Canada and the prime minister's two-year-old government.

Mr. Chrétien's hastily improvised plan has three dissimilar components, none requiring the constitutional changes upon which other such Quebec-driven formulas have foundered.

It would accord Quebec legislative status as a "distinct society within Canada," recognizing its culture, language and civil law tradition. It would grant an effective veto over constitutional changes to Quebec — and to Ontario and to newly conceived "regions" of Atlantic Canada and Western Canada. And it would shift the administration of manpower-training programs from the central government to the provinces.

Within hours of the prime minister's news conference in Ottawa, his plan was being picked apart by Canada's legions of battle-scarred veterans of unity wars. Once again, the air rang with references to "Meech Lake" and "Charlottetown," the two most recent constitutional reforms — both catastrophic failures — that tried to fit the Quebec peg into the Canadian whole. The whither-Canada merry-go-round groaned to life again.

Parti Québécois leaders who run Quebec province scorned the weak brew of the prime minister's plan.

They dismissed the "distinct society" provision as purely symbolic, pointing to a weekend poll that indicated most Quebecers understood the term to mean a real shift of power, and considered it virtually meaningless unless it is enshrined in the Canadian constitution.

Mr. Chrétien's guarantee of a constitutional right of refusal to the two largest provinces and



Prime Minister Jean Chrétien presenting his proposed concessions on Quebec's status to the House of Commons.

the other two regions, though modest, is the only innovation in the proposal, but it may be too far outside the box of acceptable Canadian debate.

It attempts to find a middle way between the view of Quebec nationalists, who see Canada as the creation of two English and French "founding nations," and that of most Canadians elsewhere, who see Canada as a collectivity of 10

equal provinces. In the robust and populous provinces of Alberta and British Columbia, which could probably stand alone as small countries, the idea of being lumped together with two other prairie provinces in a mere "region" is unacceptable.

In Quebec City, a senior adviser to the provincial government was openly scornful of the notion that Mr. Chrétien

would "lend" the federal veto to Quebec.

"They stole our veto in 1981, now they want to lend it to us? What's the interest on the loan?" said Jean-François Lisée, referring to Canada's adoption of a new constitution over Quebec's objections.

Such are the seemingly irreconcilable differences facing anyone trying to keep Canada sewn together: Quebec, with

its French-speaking majority and legacy of domination by English Canadians, is unlikely ever to see itself as no different from, say, Prince Edward Island, a province of 130,000 people.

Canadians outside Quebec, for their part, are not likely to accept the idea of a special class of Canadians, or of one province with privileged status in the confederation.

Away From
Politics

• The California attorney general's office is investigating whether the former Los Angeles police detective Mark Fuhrman committed perjury during the O.J. Simpson murder trial. During the trial, Mr. Fuhrman was asked if he had ever used the word "nigger" during the previous decade. He denied having done so. But transcripts of taped conversations and testimony from several people, showed that he had used the epithet repeatedly during that period. (NYT)

• High winds blew a large electronic freeway sign in Rancho Cucamonga, California, onto a pickup truck, crushing the driver to death. "He didn't know what hit him," Sergeant Charles Chelove of the California Highway Patrol said. The identity of the 52-year-old man was not immediately released. (AP)

• A man and a woman who served four years for a 1990 strangling were released from prison in Salem, Oregon, following the conviction of a man who confessed to the killing. "There's no longer any doubt that these two individuals are innocent. The evidence is compelling," Judge Paul Lipcomb said of Laverne Avilnac, 62, and her former boyfriend, John Sosovske, 42. (AP)

• A freelance photographer pleaded not guilty to murdering a model and former cheerleader, Linda Yokel. In a brief courtroom appearance in Torrance, California, Charles Rathbun, 38, of Los Angeles was arraigned on one count of first-degree murder and held on \$1 million bail. Miss Sobek, 27, disappeared Nov. 16 after being friends she was going on a modeling assignment. (LAT)

Haiti Insists U.S. Return Trove of Seized Documents

By Larry Rohter
New York Times Service

MIAMI — After landing in Haiti last year, U.S. troops seized more than 150,000 pages of documents from the headquarters of the Haitian armed forces and the country's most feared paramilitary group. Now Haiti wants the records back and accuses Washington of stalling.

The whole issue is becoming an increasingly sore point in relations between the two governments. Haitian officials say the return of the documents is indispensable to their efforts to restore political stability in the country by disarming and prosecuting human rights violators connected with the old regime in Port-au-Prince.

A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy, Stanley Schragar, acknowledged that the documents "are in the hands of the Defense Intelligence Agency and are being reviewed." But he said he had no information as to when they might be returned.

Clinton administration offi-

cials are divided over whether the present Haitian government is legally entitled to the documents, officials in Washington said. The Pentagon insists the documents belonged to the ousted military regime, not the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and became American property when U.S. troops seized them last year.

Administration officials express concern that the Aristide government, or at least its more extreme supporters, might seek reprisals against supporters of the military regime who are listed in the documents.

"I understand their impatience, but on the other hand there's a big volume of material," a senior State Department official said. "I don't think we're trying to stall. We haven't yet achieved an agreement in the United States government about what we should do with these documents."

Mr. Aristide's chief of staff, Leslie Voltaire, estimated that American troops seized more than 100,000 pages of documents from military head-

quarters shortly after they landed on Sept. 19, 1994. Other officials said that an American military raid on the headquarters of the main paramilitary group — the Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti, or FRAPH — on Oct. 3, 1994, netted an additional 60,000 pages of records.

Almost as soon as it was founded in 1993, the front became the most brutal and infamous of many Haiti's paramilitary groups, which are believed to have been organized, directed and financed by the Haitian armed forces. Human rights groups have estimated that at least 3,000 people were killed during Mr. Aristide's three years in exile and blame the front for many of those deaths, as well as for thousands of incidents of rape, torture, beatings and arson.

After the October 1994 raid, American soldiers from the 10th Mountain Division told of finding gory "trophy photographs" posted on the walls of front headquarters showing members of the group with the

people they were killing or torturing. "It's the most disgusting thing I have ever seen in my life," one young soldier, clearly shaken, said at the time.

Haitian prosecutors said they regard the 60,000 pages of documents as essential in building a criminal case against the group's founder, Emmanuel Constant, who fled the country after the arrival of American forces and made his way, under circumstances that are still unclear, to the United States, where he was apprehended. An immigration judge in Baltimore recently ordered Mr. Constant deported, but his lawyers are appealing.

During the front's reign of terror, Mr. Constant, a former diplomat whose father was army commander during the dictatorship of François Duvalier, often boasted of links to American intelligence agencies. According to press reports

published shortly after the American invasion, Mr. Constant had earlier been a paid informant for the CIA and was urged by the DIA to engage in intelligence activities against Mr. Aristide.

An American official said "there may be legitimate national security reasons for withholding" the documents and expressed concern that their release could "encourage violence" in Haiti. Given the lack of an effective police force and the scheduled withdrawal of UN troops in February, there is a danger "these documents might be used to target people" in acts of vigilante justice, he contended.

Some Haitian officials say the United States has been unwilling to hand over the papers because it fears the disclosure of information that is likely to embarrass American intelligence agencies.

POLITICAL NOTES

\$300 Million IRS Handling Fee?

WASHINGTON — It would cost the Internal Revenue Service more than \$300 million to put part of the Republican tax cut in voters' pockets just before next year's election, the agency says.

The Republicans' tax bill, part of "budget balancing" legislation that President Bill Clinton has promised to veto, would provide a \$500 tax credit for children younger than 18, starting next year. It also would offer a \$125 credit for this year. But rather than allow parents to claim it on their regular tax returns due April 15, the Republican legislation would create a separate filing process, with checks to be mailed between Oct. 1 and Oct. 15, just weeks before the November presidential and congressional elections.

It is the separate process that would run up administrative costs, in addition to the estimated \$5 billion drop in tax revenue from the \$125 credit per child, the IRS says.

The IRS commissioner, Margaret Milner Richardson, said a separate process not only would be costly, it would undermine the agency's electronic filing program aimed at reducing the 2 billion pieces of paper it handles annually. The Republican bill would require the IRS to mail a notice of the credit by Feb. 1 and then mail a special form for claiming the credit by June 1.

"The timing of a tax refund in October of 1996 speaks for itself," said Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York. "A further question occurs, however. What is the expense to the federal government of engaging in an election-cycle tax refund?"

Ms. Richardson said the IRS estimates it would cost \$40 million to mail the Feb. 1 notice and an additional \$29 million to develop and mail the new form for claiming the credit. In all, it would cost \$308 million to administer the credit in its first year. (AP)

Judge Eases N.Y. Primary Rules

NEW YORK — A federal judge in Brooklyn struck down the Republican Party's rules for New York State's presidential primary, saying they set unfair hurdles for candidates to gather enough signatures on petitions to put their names on ballots in some areas of the state.

If it withstands appeals to higher courts, the ruling by Judge Edward Korman of U.S. District Court would be a significant setback to the state party and its choice for president, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas. Because Mr. Dole has the backing of the state party, he is likely to have a much easier time than other candidates collecting the tens of thousands of signatures needed to get on the ballot.

By far the most restrictive in the nation, the state's primary rules have been criticized by several of Mr. Dole's current and past rivals, including Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, Governor Pete Wilson of California and, most recently, Patrick J. Buchanan. (NYT)

A Dark Future for Postal Surveys

WASHINGTON — The Postal Service, which got a black eye in its customer satisfaction surveys last year, has decided to stop publicizing the ratings.

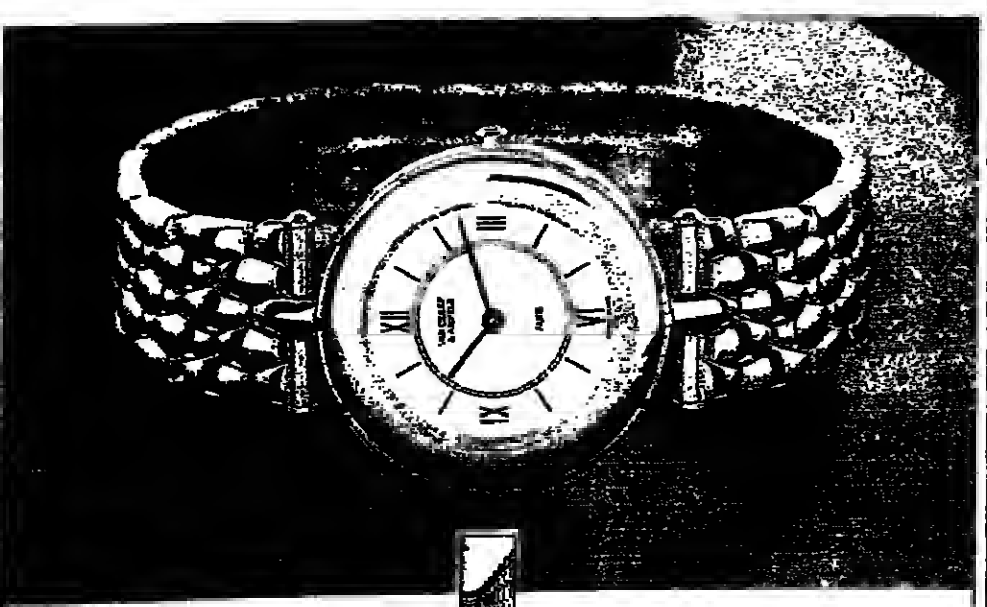
A spokesman for the Postal Service, Frank Brennan, said the quarterly ratings, produced by Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, New Jersey, will still be conducted, but the results will no longer be published in consumer brochures. He said the surveys had not been helpful to postal managers and the results were "breeding confusion" in the media.

The Postal Service's decision to de-emphasize the ratings came at a time when the Clinton administration has been urging other federal agencies to survey their customers and establish public standards for service.

But senior postal officials, including Postmaster General Marvin T. Runyon, have made no secret of their unhappiness with their customer survey, in which customer satisfaction plummeted last year after the agency's overnight mail delivery rate dropped precipitously. Mr. Runyon has said the index is not as reliable or as accurate an index of how well the agency is doing its job as other surveys. He said negative news accounts about poor mail deliveries in one city often push the index down in communities that have no service problems. (WP)

Quote/Unquote

President Bill Clinton, in a speech on the deployment of U.S. troops in Bosnia: "I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them, but anyone contemplating any action that would endanger our troops should know this: America protects its own. Anyone — anyone — who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. We will fight fire with fire, and then some." (AP)



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ASIA

Seoul Opens Way For Massacre Trial

Ex-Chiefs Lose Protection

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEOUL — The Constitutional Court has decided to permit legal action against former Presidents Roh Tae Woo and Chun Doo Hwan by striking down an earlier decision not to indict leaders of a 1980 coup, state radio said Tuesday.

Fifteen years ago, the May 17 coup was followed by a military crackdown on a pro-democracy revolt in the city of Kwangju, resulting in nearly 200 deaths.

Families of the victims have sought to have the coup declared illegal and to punish Mr. Roh, Mr. Chun and 56 others they blame for the massacre. But prosecutors said in July that they would not bring charges against anybody.

The Constitutional Court, considering an appeal against the prosecutors' inaction, had said it would make its decision known Thursday. But on Tuesday, state radio and private newspapers said the court had decided to uphold the appeal.

The prosecution report had said that the coup, in which a military group led by Mr. Chun and supported by Mr. Roh extended martial law, and the Kwangju massacre were "typical ruling acts" and that there were no grounds for charges. It said that the army had used excessive force but that there had been no conspiracy of the leaders to consolidate power.

Last week, President Kim Young Sam ordered his governing Democratic Liberal Party to draft a special law to punish his two predecessors for crushing the Kwangju revolt.

Although there is a 15-year statute of limitations on actions relating to coups and insurrections, the Constitutional Court has determined that the period during which the two presidents held office should not be counted. Officials at the Constitutional Court declined to comment.

Mr. Roh has been arrested and detained in an unrelated case involving a \$654 million slush fund, which he has confessed to amassing while in office. He has

been accused of accepting more than \$300 million from business conglomerates. Mr. Chun has kept a low profile since returning in December 1990 from a two-year self-imposed domestic exile in a remote Buddhist monastery. He also admitted to corruption during his term.

Analysts said Mr. Kim now felt able to act against the coup ringleaders, partly because the South Korean military had been brought to heel and was unlikely to challenge him.

As news of the court's decision spread, students battled riot police as they attempted to reach the home of Mr. Chun.

The clash erupted about 500 meters from Mr. Chun's home after about 350 students poured out of side alleys in the western residential district, shouting "Execute Chun."

(Reuters, AFP)



BURMA CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS — Karen delegates taking notes during the opening session Tuesday of talks in Rangoon on a new constitution. Opponents of the military asserted the regime was controlling the convention to ensure its hold on power.

Asian Navies Lean to Submarines

By Michael Richardson
International Herald Tribune

MELBOURNE — Among the most sensitive and potentially dangerous aspects of the arms buildup in Asia and the Pacific is a nationwide move to develop modern submarine forces, according to military analysts.

Because of their potent strike capability, a new generation of submarines is emerging at the head of naval modernization in the region and taking up an increasing proportion of military budgets. Countries from Japan and China in the north to Indonesia and Australia in the south are developing modern submarine forces or planning to do so.

Norman Friedman, an American expert on naval weapons systems, said that many countries respect "value in a technology that would inflict unacceptable costs" on a foe.

East Asian countries currently have about 100 submarines, although a substantial number in China and North Korea are no longer operational.

Desmond Ball, a military affairs specialist in the Strategic and Defense Studies

Center at the Australian National University in Canberra, warned that because missile-armed submarines had "strike capabilities with offensive connotations," they were likely to "generate counter-acquisitions" by other nations.

Since submarines can fire long-range missiles at targets on land as well as at sea, they have the potential to change the balance of forces in the Asia-Pacific region significantly, analysts say.

Mr. Ball said that more than three dozen new submarines would enter service in the region by the end of the decade. Most of them, he said, will be deployed in northeast Asia, where Japan is building 12, while Taiwan is seeking up to 10 more.

The Australian Navy will put into service early next year the first of six Collins-class submarines, which were designed in Sweden and are being built in Australia at a cost of about \$3.7 billion.

Officials said that the ships, 78 tons (256 feet) long and displacing 3,000 tons, would be among the most advanced non-nuclear submarines in the world. They will replace five submarines that were built in Britain between 1965 and 1973.

South Korean defense officials said this

year that their country would spend \$735 million to build four submarines by 2000. These ships, designed in Germany, will join South Korea's fleet of six submarines.

China is upgrading its force of 45 diesel-electric attack submarines by building more and buying at least four Kilo-class vessels from Russia. The second is due to be delivered by the end of this year.

Analysts said that Taiwan, in an effort to counter the threat of an invasion by China, was intensifying efforts to buy advanced submarines from the West to add to the four it has.

Japanese officials said Tuesday that the country's 16-ship submarine fleet would not be affected by planned cuts in the country's defense forces because of their vital deterrent and reconnaissance role.

In southeast Asia, Indonesia already has two submarines and has ordered three from Germany, with the first due to be delivered soon, analysts said. Thailand's navy wants to buy two or three submarines. Singapore announced recently that it had bought a second-hand submarine from Sweden for training purposes and Malaysia, too, has expressed interest in the vessels.

Japanese Cabinet Agrees to Cut Army

Plan Endorses U.S. Bases

By Nicholas D. Kristof
New York Times Service

TOKYO — At the same time that it is asking Washington to maintain American troop strength in Japan, the government Tuesday night approved far-reaching reductions in its own troop strength.

The cuts came at a time when there is growing public debate about the need for American military bases in Japan, which the new plan endorses, describing military cooperation with the United States as important to maintain peace in Asia.

Yet the cuts may also embolden critics in Japan and America who argue that the American military presence is unnecessary.

The critics contend that Japan's willingness to cut back its military strength underscores a lack of a military threat and should be accompanied by American cutbacks as well.

American critics also argue that Japan is a free-rider, depending on the United States to defend its shipping lanes while it takes advantage of the end of the Cold War to trim its own armed forces.

Acting at a special late-night session, the Japanese cabinet approved a new "defense plan" that is supposed to outline Japan's military needs in the post-Cold War era.

The most striking feature of the new plan, as expected, is its cuts in military force. The ceiling on the number of army troops, for example, is to be cut by 20 percent, to 145,000 from 180,000.

The actual cut may not be so great, for in fact there are now only 150,000 troops in the army. The navy is to cut an escort division and eliminate some destroyers and anti-submarine aircraft. The air force is slated to eliminate an F-4 fighter squadron.

Military spending is particularly sensitive in Japan because of memories of World War II and because of its constitution, which renounces war.

In theory, Japan has no army but simply a "self-defense force."

New Rape Inquiry

Japanese police on Okinawa, which is still seething over the alleged rape of a schoolgirl by a U.S. serviceman, said that a woman who complained of being raped by a foreigner she believed to be American is unlikely to press charges, Agence France-Presse reported from Tokyo.

The police in Ginowan, where a massive rally against U.S. bases was held last month, began investigating the case Saturday after receiving a report from the U.S. Marines. The woman had informed an acquaintance, who then reported the incident to the Marines, the police spokesman said.

"She does not want to speak about the incident in public," he said.

Attacks in South Cast Shadow on Philippine Talks

Agence France-Presse

JAKARTA — The second day of talks here between the Philippine government and Muslim insurgents was dominated by discussions about violence that threatens to undermine their cease-fire accord.

While the two sides pursued their third round of peace talks Tuesday, discussing procedural issues, reports from Manila said that Muslim radicals suspected of trying to derail the negotiations had killed four people in the south of the country.

"We still talk about reported violations of the cease-fire," said Manuel Yan, who heads the government delegation to the talks with the Moro National Liberation Front.

The front's leader, Nur Misuari, accused Manila of violating the ground rules of an interim cease-fire by sending at least 20,000 fresh troops to Mindanao and neighboring islands.

Dissidents In China Speak Out To Aid Wei

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — Two dissident groups on Tuesday released letters they had written the government condemning section charges filed against China's best-known dissident, Wei Jingsheng, and demanding his release.

Mr. Wei's formal arrest on Nov. 21 on charges of attempting to overthrow the government, was "just another example of the lack of respect for human rights in China and a reminder of the government's oppression of Chinese dissidents," 10 activists from Sichuan province said.

The letter, which was also sent to foreign news agencies, was written by Liu Xiaobai, an activist during the 1989 pro-democracy movement who was arrested in 1991 for publishing an unauthorized journal.

The second letter, sent to the National People's Congress, was signed by 15 dissidents who have all spent time in prison since the 1989 democracy movement was crushed by the government.

Among the signatories to the Sichuan letter was the poet Liao Yiwu, who was sentenced to four years imprisonment in 1990 for making a videotape, "The Massacre," commemorating the events of June 4, 1989, in Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

"We appeal to the international community to pay more attention to the human rights situation in China and to take measures where necessary to prevent the Chinese government from continuing with its oppressive activities," the letter said.

Contacted by phone in Sichuan, Mr. Liu said the letter had been written out of concern for other imprisoned dissidents in light of the treatment of Mr. Wei, who was held incommunicado for nearly 19 months before he was charged.

He mentioned Wang Dan, a student leader in 1989, who has been held without charge for six months. (AFP, AP)

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TODAY'S BUSINESS MESSAGE CENTER
Appears on Page 8

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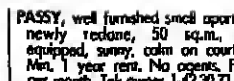
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EUROPE

Tories Offer 'Neutral Budget,' But Will U.K. Voters Buy It?

By Erik Ipsen
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — In presenting what may well be his government's last budget before a general election, the chancellor of the Exchequer on Tuesday confounded expectations by failing to deliver major vote-getting measures.

"I have no intention of throwing away gains we've made in getting public-sector borrowing down," Chancellor Kenneth Clarke in the Parliament.

Instead, he emphasized that it was a "broadly neutral" budget in which tax cuts were offset by reductions in planned public spending.

"This was not the sort of all guns blazing budget that wins elections," said Nigel Richardson, head of bond research at Yamaichi International.

Nor was it likely to win over the financial markets. In the aftermath of the chancellor's speech, both the pound and the bond market lost ground.

Of chief concern for the markets was the widening in the government's own forecasts for its borrowings in future years. A year ago, for instance, the government was forecasting its 1996-97 borrowings at £13 billion (about \$20 billion). As of Tuesday that forecast stood at

£22.5 billion. Those sorts of revisions raised fears that, beneath all the detail, the chancellor had quietly shifted gears to more expansionary fiscal policies.

For voters who will have a chance to pass judgment on Tory rule by no later than the spring of 1997, the budget had attractions — just not nearly on the scale widely forecast. That shortfall raised suspicions that the Tories think they can avoid calling an election in 1996, and thus feel comfortable that they will present one last budget next November.

Mr. Clarke's boldest step was confined to a 1 percentage point cut in the basic rate of income tax, from 25 percent to 24 percent. Beyond that, he said he would control spending elsewhere in order to increase spending in "the three services people care most about — schools, hospitals and the police."

The National Health Service will get an extra £1 billion, spending on schools will rise by £878 million and 5,000 police officers will be hired over the next three years.

After 16 years of Conservative rule, however, pundits saw little in the budget that would win continued support from voters.

Following the chancellor's speech, the Labor Party leader,

Tony Blair, noted that with their income tax cut, the government "gives back only a fraction of what has been taken away." He charged that since the last election the Tories had raised taxes by 7 percent.

For the Conservatives, much hope now must rest on one thing that Mr. Clarke did not even mention in his speech — monetary policy. By presenting a budget ootable only for its lack of surprises, and costly giveaways, the chancellor may have laid the groundwork for future interest rate cuts, according to analysts.

Peter Warburton, an economist with Robert Fleming Securities, calculates that a 1 percentage point cut in interest rates is equivalent to a £6 billion cut in taxes in terms of its ability to stimulate the economy.

Some analysts suggested that any hope of stimulating the economy by lowering the cost of borrowing would now rest on the reaction in the markets to the unexpected widening in the government's borrowing targets.



Chancellor Clarke holding up the budget box on Tuesday.

Free-Trade Pledge in Barcelona Mediterranean Nations Forge Broad Pact

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BARCELONA — The European Union and its neighbors from the Middle East and North Africa pledged Tuesday to lift trade barriers and foster private investment across the Mediterranean in pursuit of a free-trade area by 2010.

Sidestepping disagreement over farm exports to Europe, foreign ministers at the first Euro-Mediterranean conference approved an ambitious program covering energy, industry, science, telecommunications, tourism and transportation.

The 27 participants in the Euro-Mediterranean conference ended nearly three hours late after ministers found a way around Arab-Israeli disputes on terrorism, nuclear weapons and self-determination.

"I congratulate you on your good work," Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain told foreign ministers from the 15 European Union states, 11 east and southern Mediterranean countries and the Palestinian Authority. "It represents the

culmination of ancient aspirations and the start of a new relationship."

The Barcelona Declaration called for a regular political dialogue, enhanced EU economic aid to Mediterranean states, cooperation to control migration, crime and drugs and the prospect of a free trade area for industrial goods in the year 2010.

It included references acceptable to Israel on the right to self-determination, nuclear nonproliferation and the fight against terrorism, although in a letter to the Spanish chairman, the Israelis said the issues had no place in such a forum.

Algeria's foreign minister, Salah Dendir, said on behalf of Arab states that the agreement was a landmark on the road to fairer relations between the rich northern Mediterranean states and their poorer southern neighbors.

Sitting directly across the oval table, the Israeli foreign minister, Ehud Barak, applauded him enthusiastically.

"This is the start of a new

Mediterranean," Foreign Minister Hervé de Charette said.

Ministers said Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinians made oral statements in the closing session dissenting from some wording on Middle East issues but none had entered a formal reservation.

Spain's foreign minister, Javier Solana, refused to accept any further amendments to a text worked out in hours of backroom talks. His diplomatic success could aid an undeclared campaign to make him the next secretary-general of NATO.

Diplomats said that in the drafting negotiations, Syria had sought to distinguish between terrorism and "legitimate freedom fighting" and foiled a call to hold the next Euro-Mediterranean conference at summit level in an Arab capital.

Instead, the declaration said merely that the next meeting of foreign ministers would take place in 1997 in one of the 12 east and southern Mediterranean partners, fixing no location. (AP, Reuters)

Weakened Papandreou Is Back on Respirator

Reuters

ATHENS — Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, 76, hospitalized with pneumonia, was to be put back on a respirator after undergoing dialysis for a second time in 24 hours on Tuesday, a hospital spokesman said.

Mr. Papandreou, who had open-heart surgery in 1988, was taken to the hospital eight days ago with pneumonia in his left lung and spent last week on a respirator to support breathing.

"The prime minister tolerated the dialysis well," said Alas Antoniadis, one of his doctors at the hospital here. "In the afternoon hours there was a persistent problem in the breathing function, which needs support from a respirator."

Some observers said the

statement signaled a turn for the worse for the prime minister after he had managed to breathe on his own after a week on the respirator, to sit up and to eat.

His condition worsened after a blood transfusion on Monday, which caused lung and kidney problems. He had dialysis twice in 16 hours, a mechanical cleansing of the blood necessary when kidneys fail to filter impurities from the bloodstream.

The medical reports raised questions about whether he can serve his full term and prompting jockeying for position among potential successors.

Doctors have said that even in the most optimistic scenario, his recovery will be long and slow and that he will have to be confined to his home for months.

BRIEFLY EUROPE

Major Is Hopeful on Ulster Talks

LONDON — Britain said Tuesday that it had made progress with Ireland toward a breakthrough in the stalled Northern Ireland peace process but warned that some important issues still had to be resolved.

Prime Minister John Major told Parliament that he had spoken to his Irish counterpart, John Bruton, on Monday and that they would probably confer again later in the day.

Mr. Major said he hoped that he and Mr. Bruton would soon break a deadlock over terms for all-party political talks on Northern Ireland's future, but stressed that he would not be rushed into a deal.

Britain wants the Irish Republican Army to disarm before its political wing, Sinn Féin, joins the talks. Ireland wants preliminary talks to be held while an outside panel adjudicates the timing and logistics of disarmament. (Reuters)

Norway to Pause on Joining EU

OSLO — Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland says Norway, which rejected membership in the European Union a year ago Tuesday, will probably not attempt to join for at least another five years.

Mrs. Brundtland said that her Labor minority government would strive to keep Norwegian interests high on the European political agenda. And she said that Norway's currency should be linked in some manner to the single European currency that is to be created after 1999.

Asked when EU membership might come up again in Norway, she replied: "It will not be a question in the 1990s. I am sure we are talking about at least five years." (Reuters)

Scalfaro Resists Call for Elections

ROME — Faced with rising support among political leaders for an early general election, President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro praised the government of Prime Minister Lamberto Dini and called Tuesday for calm during the country's six-month presidency of the European Union, beginning in January.

Speaking on an official visit to the Netherlands, Mr. Scalfaro said Italy had "a great responsibility toward Europe and not just Europe" during its EU presidency.

"The main point for all of us is to ensure that nobody tomorrow can say Italy's problems have had a negative effect on Europe," he said on Italian RAI television.

Massimo D'Alema, leader of the former communist Democratic Party of the Left, which supports Mr. Dini, said Monday that it was time for an election. (Reuters)

Calendar

European Union events scheduled for Wednesday:

BRUSSELS: European Commission meets.

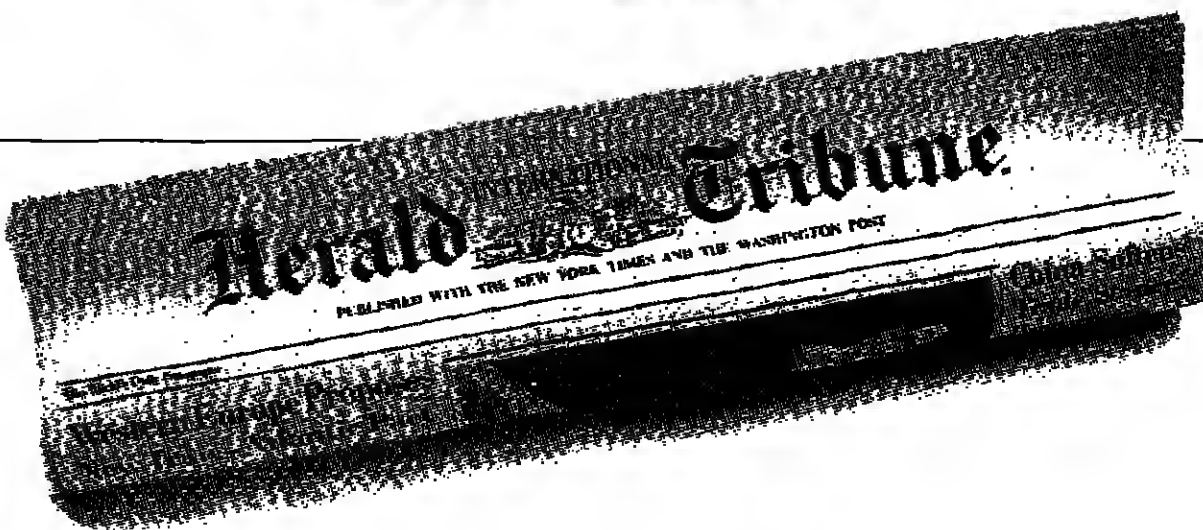
BRUSSELS: Agriculture ministers hold meeting.

BRUSSELS: The commission president, Jacques Santer, holds a press conference preparatory to the Dec. 15-16 summit meeting in Madrid.

BRUSSELS: The industry commissioner, Martin Bangemann, presents European Technology Award at conference on information technology.

Sources: Agence Europe, AFP

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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

INTERNATIONAL

Russians and NATO Agree On Bosnia Force Command

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

BRUSSELS — NATO and Russia said Tuesday that they had worked out agreement in principle to send 1,500 Russian troops to Bosnia with the 60,000-member American-led peacekeeping force that is expected to begin moving in as early as during next week.

Defense Secretary William J. Perry said that, with the peace accord scheduled to be signed in Paris in mid-December, 500 to 700 American troops would be among NATO forces that would begin preparations in Bosnia next week.

The United States will eventually have a total of more than 20,000 soldiers in the operation, to be called Joint Endeavor.

The Russian defense minister, General Pavel S. Grachev, said after meeting his NATO counterparts here that his country could send in an additional 1,000 soldiers to work on reconstruction

projects if peace took hold. Russia will also leave its 1,500 soldiers in the Serb-occupied Croatian province of eastern Slavonia, as requested by the United Nations, he declared.

The Russian troops will not serve under NATO command but will take operational orders from the U.S. general in charge of the entire operation, General George A. Joulwan, the senior NATO military commander in Europe. At President Boris N. Yeltsin's request, NATO agreed not to insist on General Joulwan's NATO role where Russian troops were concerned.

General Grachev also got a NATO commitment Tuesday to set up a consultative committee to deal with political disagreements that might arise within the peacekeeping force once it gets there, but overall political control of the operation will remain with the alliance.

Mr. Perry described the commitment as "a chance to get their voice in."

"This will affect security relations in Europe between NATO and Russia for years to come," Mr. Perry said.

A senior NATO military commander said that the initial 1,500 Russian infantry and airborne troops, commanded by Colonel General Leonid P. Shevtsov, would probably serve with the U.S. First Armored Division in a brigade that is to take up position in the corridor separating the eastern and western parts of the Serb-controlled parts of Bosnia.

General Grachev said that Mr. Yeltsin would have to formally approve the political consultation arrangement, and allied ambassadors will also do so Thursday.

The senior NATO military commander said Tuesday that the bulk of NATO peacekeepers would be in place within 60 to 90 days, with most of the 10,000 French and 15,000 British troops coming from the UN Protection Force. The warring parties will have 30 days to remove their forces from the zone of separation negotiated in the accord.



Bosnian Croats, opposing territorial concessions, trying to storm the Parliament building in Zagreb on Tuesday as President Franjo Tudjman addressed lawmakers on the peace accord.

BALKANS: Big Risks

Continued from Page 1

Serbian side during the weekend and local officials threatened to burn the area if it was given back. The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, has called for a renegotiation of Sarajevo's status, although that is prohibited under the plan.

UN representatives said last week that the planned Muslim corridor connecting Sarajevo to the Bosnian Muslim enclave of Gorazde in the east will be broadened with the construction of a road. That, too, will run over Serbian territory, near Kalinovik, the birthplace of Ratko Mladic, military leader of the Bosnian Serbs.

Another hot spot is Brcko — a town held by the Serbs in the center of the strategic Posavina corridor linking Serbian-held territories in northern Bosnia and the east. The territorial partition agreed on in Dayton foresees international arbitration about Brcko's status, beginning six months after the agreement on Bosnia goes into force.

Already, Croatian leaders have vowed to fight any deal there because a widening of the corridor would mean a Croatian evacuation.

Of the many potential traps to the forces of NATO as they roll into Bosnia, none could be more deadly than the Bosnian Serbs. Their army, with its 80,000 men, 460 tanks, 400 armored personnel carriers, 1,200 artillery pieces, about 300 anti-aircraft guns and 25 attack helicopters is the most potent force based in Bosnia. Having endured two weeks of a NATO air campaign over the summer and a string of defeats by the Croats and the Muslims, that army may also be the angriest around.

Clinton on Troop Use: 'Strategic Interests' at Stake

New York Times Service

Following are excerpts from President Bill Clinton's address on Bosnia:

Let me say at the outset America's role will not be about fighting a war. It will be about helping the people of Bosnia to secure their own peace agreement. Our mission will be limited, focused and under the command of an American general. In fulfilling this mission, we will have the chance to help stop the killing of innocent civilians, especially children, and at the same time to bring stability to central Europe, a region of the world that is vital to our national interests. It is the right thing to do.

Today, because of our dedication, America's ideals — liberty, democracy and peace — are more and more the aspirations of people everywhere in the world. It is the power of our ideas, even more than our size, our wealth and our military might, that makes America a uniquely trusted nation.

With the Cold War over, some people now question the need for our continued active leadership in the world. They believe that much like after World War I, America can now step back from the responsibilities of leadership. They argue

that to be secure we need only to keep our own borders safe and that the time has come now to leave to others the hard work of leadership beyond our borders.

I strongly disagree. As the Cold War gives way to the global village, our leadership is needed more than ever because problems that start beyond our borders can quickly become problems within them. We're all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction, terrorism, ethnic, religious and regional rivalries, the spread of organized crime and weapons of mass destruction and drug trafficking. Just as surely as Fascism and Communism, these forces also threaten freedom and democracy, peace and prosperity. And they too demand American leadership.

America cannot and must not be the world's policeman. We cannot stop all war for all time but we can stop some wars. We cannot save all women and all children. But we can save many of them.

We can't do everything, but we must do what we can. There are times and places where our leadership can mean the difference between peace and war and where we can defend our funda-

mental values as a people and serve our most basic strategic interests.

The terrible war in Bosnia is such a case. Nowhere today is the need for American leadership more stark or more immediate than in Bosnia. For nearly four years a terrible war has torn Bosnia apart. Horrors we prayed had been banished from Europe forever have been seared into our minds again: skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed-wire fences, women and girls raped as a tool of war, defenseless men and boys shot down in the mass graves, evoking visions of World War II concentration camps, and endless lines of refugees marching toward a future of despair.

Now the war is over. American leadership created the chance to build a peace and stop the suffering. Securing peace in Bosnia will also help to build a free and stable Europe. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe, next door to many of its fragile new democracies and some of our closest allies. Generations of Americans have understood that Europe's freedom and Europe's stability is vital to our own national security. The only force capable of getting this job done is NATO, the powerful military alliance of democracies

that has guaranteed our security for a half century now. And as NATO's leader and the primary broker of the peace agreement, the United States must be an essential part of the mission.

First, the mission will be precisely defined with clear, realistic goals that can be achieved in a definite period of time. Our troops will make sure that each side withdraws its forces behind the front lines and keeps them there. They will maintain the cease-fire to prevent the war from accidentally starting again.

Second, the risks to our troops will be minimized. American troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained.

As president my most difficult duty is to put the men and women who volunteered to serve our nation in harm's way when our interest and values demand it. I assume full responsibility for any harm that may come to them. But anyone contemplating any action that would endanger our troops should know this: America protects its own. Anyone — anyone — who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. We will fight fire with fire, and then some.

PRESIDENT: Muted Support

Continued from Page 1

mittees were scheduled by Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, Defense Secretary William J. Perry and the current chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General John M. Shalikashvili.

The final NATO plan for the Bosnia operation is to be sent to Mr. Clinton this week. The president then hopes for a non-binding vote of support in Congress by mid-December. With or without such support, Mr. Clinton says, he will go ahead.

The public, meanwhile, appeared sharply divided.

One poll conducted Monday after Mr. Clinton's speech found 30 percent of viewers were more likely afterward to support a U.S. troop deployment to Bosnia.

But overall, the CNN-USA Today-Gallup Poll found 46 percent of respondents supporting the deployment and 40 percent opposed.

Bonn to Send 4,000 Men

New York Times Service

BONN — The government resolved Tuesday to send 4,000 troops to join the proposed NATO peace mission for Bosnia — the biggest single deployment of German soldiers since World War II.

The bulk of the German contingent in the American-led 60,000-member NATO force will be stationed in Croatia, to avoid exposing them to hostilities by Serbs who recall wartime Nazi atrocities and regard Germans as biased in favor of Croatia.

The German force will be largely made up of logistics, medical and transport units rather than combat troops.

Nonetheless, the decision represents a further move away from Germany's postwar tradition of avoiding displays of militarism that might rekindle memories of its bellicose history.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's cabinet approved the deployment. Parliament is to debate the decision Dec. 4, and the two principal opposition parties are divided on the issue. While the Greens said they opposed the deployment, the Social Democrats' parliamentary caucus voted in favor of it.

In a hearing Tuesday before the Senate Armed Services Committee, a former national security adviser said that while the deployment could be dangerous, it was now necessary. "The possibility for significant reverses, if not disaster, is fairly high," said Brent Scowcroft, who served in the Bush administration. But, he added, U.S. credibility would suffer if the pledge to send the troops was not carried out.

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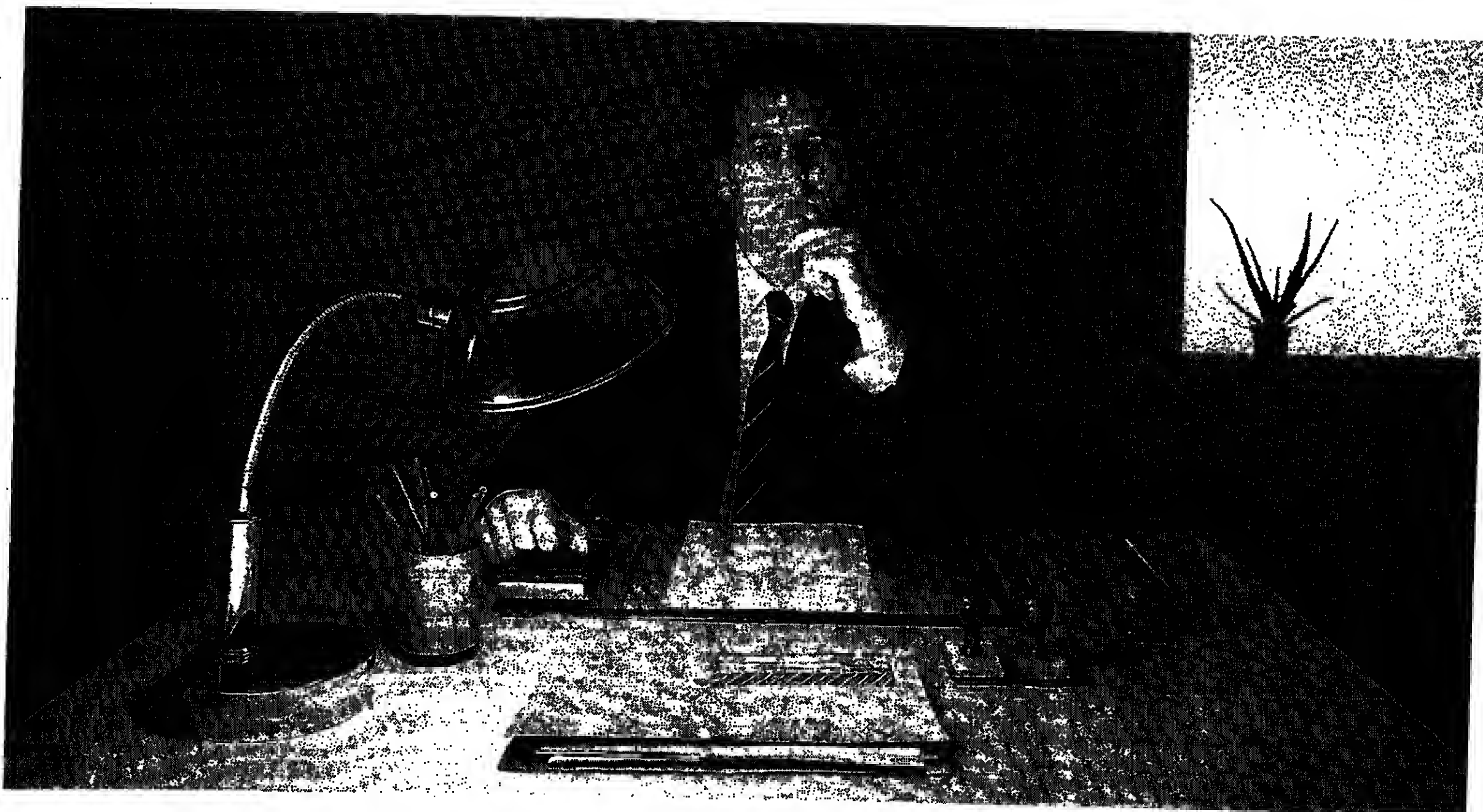
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1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 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1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 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EDITORIALS/OPINION

Herald Tribune

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Yes, Troops for Bosnia

In a speech on Monday, President Bill Clinton asked the American people and their congressional representatives to approve his plan to send 20,000 troops to Bosnia to help establish the peace. Dispatching soldiers to the Balkans is not a prospect that Americans face with enthusiasm. But the mission that the president defines is limited, achievable and in accordance with U.S. national interests.

Mr. Clinton made a strong case in a sober, measured address. Congress should honor his request in a timely manner so that American troops can be deployed, along with 40,000 others from European countries and Canada, once a formal peace agreement is signed in Paris, probably in mid-December.

Although Mr. Clinton claims authority to send the troops on his own, congressional approval is essential. The peacekeeping mission is too difficult and potentially too divisive to put American lives at risk without the approval of a majority of both the House and the Senate.

The 60,000 NATO troops will be under exclusive NATO control, answerable to an American commanding general. They will operate under rules of engagement that let them defend themselves vigorously if threatened from any quarter. Furthermore, their mission will be unencumbered by the kind of well-meant but dangerous nation-building objectives that brought combat fiascos and policy quagmires in the recent past.

Having brokered a workable Bosnian peace agreement, the United States cannot honorably evade responsibility for enforcing it. America's long-standing interest in European security and its humanitarian interest in halting an appallingly murderous conflict also argue strongly for American military participation in a carefully designed peace enforcement mission.

It would, however, be a grave mistake to overestimate what NATO troops can hope to accomplish in the one year they are expected to be in Bosnia. Their objectives should be limited to maintaining the existing cease-fire, physically separating the warring parties and overseeing the division of territory agreed to by Balkan leaders in Ohio.

There should be no illusions that Americans can somehow undo the damage of war and restore the unified, multiethnic Bosnia that existed three and a half years ago. Nor can they restore millions of refugees to their lost homes, guarantee the democratic functioning of Bosnian national institutions or assure that war criminals are brought to justice.

That work, in the end, can be done only by the peoples of Bosnia, supported by the international community as a whole. It is not the business of the NATO force. The outside world cannot impose reconciliation and unity in Bosnia.

Western Europe, with help from Washington, can take the lead in providing money for the reconstruction of war-ravaged Bosnia and the resettlement of its 2 million refugees. America can join European nations in trying to equalize the balance of postwar military might among Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia to discourage a new outbreak of fighting.

The future of America's military role in Europe, Washington's international leadership and Mr. Clinton's presidency will all be affected by what happens in Bosnia over the next 12 months. Mr. Clinton has defined a reasonable mission for American troops. He deserves the country's carefully considered support.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The Haiti Example

As Haiti slides toward instability again, it is not a bad moment to observe that, come what may, American troops there have already accomplished a great deal. They ended an epidemic of killings by the previous military regime and its friends. Simply by being in the country, U.S. forces have saved many lives. The flow of desperate people attempting to emigrate illegally to Florida dropped off for a year (although in the present atmosphere it is beginning to pick up again). Haiti held an election last summer, although a chaotic one, and if all goes well will hold another for president next month.

Those achievements are worth keeping in mind as the debate gets under way over sending American troops to Bosnia. There would be a lot of similarities between the two operations. Going into Bosnia would be more dangerous, and the prospects for building a viable democracy in one year would be at least as uncertain. But beyond all the important political reasons for going ahead, an enormous number of lives could be saved merely by interrupting the slaughter.

Haiti is only a kind of spring training for the complications that intervention in Bosnia would generate. The president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, tells some audacious that he will certainly leave office in February as the constitution requires,

but to other audiences he hints that maybe he will reconsider. The presidential election is to be held in less than three weeks, but preparations are sadly inadequate and some of the parties are already crying foul.

And Mr. Aristide's performance is not the only thing to worry about. His latest outburst was set off by the assassination of a cousin and close friend, an obvious provocation, presumably by people who liked the old regime and are trying to tip over the new democracy. For Haiti, the question now is not only whether the presidential election will be held on schedule but whether the winner will be able to govern in peace after February, when the United Nations mission, including the U.S. troops, pulls out. Similar questions are very likely to arise in Bosnia.

The Clinton administration is now desperately trying to devise ways to keep at least a few soldiers in Haiti without seriously bending its promise to withdraw the mission. Meanwhile, it must work with politicians whom it neither likes very much nor trusts very much — as in Bosnia. All that you can say for the venture is that it is saving lives, a lot of them, and is giving democracy a small chance in a place where otherwise it would have none at all.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

A Different Ireland

The Republic of Ireland is a Catholic country not only in numbers (more than 90 percent of the citizens are members of the Church) but in the traditional strength of the relationship between church and state, which extends even to civil law. In the early days of the republic, Catholic principles and prohibitions were written into the constitution, and the clergy were active in mobilizing and encouraging laymen to support those principles in civic life. By a hair's breadth, this history was changed last Friday, when voters in the republic repealed a constitutional provision banning divorce.

Every political party in the country supported the repeal. The returns were extremely close, but the formidable opposition of the bishops, the Pope and even Mother Teresa were overcome when the ballots were counted.

The vote does not necessarily signal a rift between church and state but rather a change in their relationship. In years past, the word of the hierarchy was virtually decisive in Ireland. Now it remains influential, but voters and government leaders more easily make the distinction between religious and secular concerns.

In part, attitudes have changed because of numerous scandals, recently revealed, involving priests. But the election

results acknowledge the reality that the ban did not keep unhappy families together. Instead, tens of thousands of separated spouses and their children were left in a state of limbo, unable to reorganize their lives or form new families under any circumstances. Hard as it may be for the devout to accept, there are unhappy families in Ireland, as everywhere else, and no law can force individuals to reconcile.

Referendum opponents cited the social impact of divorce in the United States and in Europe in arguing against change, and surely there is ample reason for the warning. But in the end, the reality of modern life and concern for the welfare of those whose marriages have failed were more persuasive in motivating voters.

The election also suggests a new flexibility in dealing with those who do not share the faith of the majority, which will not go unnoticed by those Protestants in the North whose fears of Church influence in secular society have hindered reconciliation. While voters were concerned chiefly with establishing the civil rights of individuals in the republic, not about improving its image in the North, the positive change in the latter category has to be a happy by-product of the vote.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Listen to Democratic Taiwan, Noisy and Distinct

By A. M. Rosenthal

TAIPEI — The trucks move day and night through the streets of Taiwan like creatures alive and wild with their own energy — shouting and singing through their loudspeakers, denouncing, trumpeting, cajoling, forbidding escape or the succor of a moment's silence.

The loudspeakers, mounted fore, aft and atop, deliver a gigantic rolling headache. But they also deliver the sound of democracy — to a small country new to it, and to a huge, glowering country whose leaders detest the thought of it.

This is campaign time in Taiwan, a free campaign, fought hard, for the free election of a national legislature. It is the most important democratic step since 40 years of military rule ended in 1987 and the democratic process began on this island — an often tested missile-distance across the waters from Communist China.

And next March an even more important election will take place. The people of the islands will take part in a direct presidential election — the first direct election of a national leader in the thousands of years of history of the Chinese people.

The economic development of Taiwan moves ahead smartly, and so does its

democratic development. That is news of importance far beyond this island.

Asia has a batch of countries developing economically but not democratically. Just give Asians a full belly, the colonial West used to say. Now that is amended: Just give them a motorbike and big-screen television.

Taiwan is crowded, its cities are messy and its roadsides are junk-strewn. But politically it is becoming quite handsome, a living denial of the slur that Chinese are content to live without political freedom.

Westerners have a way of thinking of Taiwan in relation only to China and their own interests. Mostly they think nervously of how furious Beijing will get if the West gives any acknowledgment or respect to this island that the Communists say is their own province, now and forever.

The West trembles to breathe a word about allowing Taiwan to take part in international activities — even helping refugees. Its skin crawls with fear that Beijing will reduce the West's right to take part in the China trade and the priv-

ilege of buying from China billions of dollars more in goods than the West has any hope of ever selling to China.

The worldwide diplomatic blockade that Beijing has created against Taiwan is not the worst of it. When Beijing thinks that the substantial movement toward an independent Taiwan is getting stronger, or sees the horror of democracy rising on this prosperous island so close to the mainland, the Chinese Communists mount menacing military operations.

No pretense is made that the exercise and the ugly warnings by top military men are not aimed at intimidating Taiwan and aborting its growing fascination with democratic practice. Expect more threats.

The island's people, ethnically Chinese, descend either from families that have lived here for centuries or from immigrants who fled to Taiwan with the Nationalist army when it was defeated by the Communists in 1949. The ruling party is the Kuomintang, a mellowed offspring of the hard-handed party of Chiang Kai-shek. It is headed by President Lee Teng-hui.

Mr. Lee gave Beijing a heart attack recently by visiting his American alma mater, Cornell University. Beijing has

been trying ever since to give one apiece to him and the United States for such impudence.

The Kuomintang stands for reunification with the mainland — some day, when Beijing manages to become non-Communist, and a convert to human rights. So it is denounced by the New Party, made up of breakaway KMT handliners, a kind of Confucian Coalition.

The major opposition is the Democratic Progressive Party — strong for independence, but not ready to invite Communist attack by making a Taiwan July Fourth declaration.

Panting for the China trade, the United States forbids Taiwan representatives to set foot in the State Department or the White House. But the weeks of democratic campaigning prove that whether Beijing and its international business lobby approve or not, Taiwan has produced a prosperous, growingly democratic society of its own, separate in political practice and desire from the mainland.

Or, as it appears on posters around the island: "Yes, there is a Taiwan." Send in more trucks.

The New York Times.

In Afghanistan, Neighbors Help Brew a Crisis for Southwest Asia

By Amin Saikal

CANBERRA — A major crisis looms in Southwest Asia. The recent success of the Pakistan-backed Islamic movement Taliban in expanding its territorial control in Afghanistan and bombing Kabul is a disturbing development not only for the Afghan people but also for Iran and India.

Tehran and New Delhi may now find it imperative to augment their assistance to the government of President Burhanuddin Rabbani in Kabul to counter Pakistan's fresh attempts to achieve dominance in Afghanistan.

Ever since the victory of the Afghan Islamic resistance groups in April 1992 over the Soviet-installed government in Kabul, Pakistan has found its efforts to gain a controlling influence in post-Communist Afghan politics

frustrated. Despite extensive attempts to advance the interests of its protégé, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Pakistan failed to achieve its aims. These included securing access to the markets and resources of the Central Asian region, now freed of rule from Moscow.

When Mr. Hekmatyar's unprincipled Islamic militancy, and political and military incompetence, finally proved him to be useless, Pakistan late last year took steps to deploy the Taliban force. It is made up of Afghans trained in refugee camps by a Pakistani Islamic organization, and of many of their ethnic kin from Pakistan's side of the border.

Taliban fighters achieved rapid successes by first taking Kandahar, Afghanistan's largest

southern city, and then pushing toward Kabul and defeating Hekmatyar's forces along the way.

When they reached the outskirts of Kabul earlier this year, however, they were beaten back by forces loyal to President Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Masoud, his supreme commander. These forces stood firm against any foreign intervention in Afghanistan. Their refusal to capitulate to Pakistan made them attractive to Pakistan's arch-enemy, India, and Pakistan's regional competitor, Iran.

To counter this setback, as well as divert attention from growing civil violence in Karachi, Pakistan in early September provided the Taliban forces extensive logistical support and directed them to take over of Herat in north-

western Afghanistan, thus opening an overland corridor for Pakistan to Turkmenistan.

This development brought Pakistani Islamic forces to Afghanistan's border with Iran, and undermined India's efforts to maintain a regional balance with Pakistan. Taliban air raids on Kabul and a siege of the city now threaten the capital itself.

Taliban is known for opposition to Shiite Islam, the majority sect in Iran, and for a determination to restructure Afghanistan along regressive lines. This may suit the Pakistani authorities, who calculate that they will be able to manipulate a weak and divided Afghanistan, but it can only set alarm bells ringing in Tehran and New Delhi.

Under no circumstance could Iran find Taliban control of Herat

to be tolerable. The people of Herat share a common language and culture with Iran, as do the followers of President Rabbani and Commander Masoud. Nor would India sit idly by and let Pakistan cause a dramatic tilt in the regional balance of power.

This sets the scene for active Iranian and Indian support to the Afghan government. As a result, Pakistan may find that it has bitten off more than it can chew. Its self-serving, shortsighted maneuvers may plunge the entire region into crisis, with Pakistan likely to be the major loser.

The writer, director of the Center for Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies at the Australian National University, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

An 'Inner Core' Would Aid Europe's Move Toward a Federation

By Roy Denman

BRUSSELS — Europe's future organization is up for discussion. The 1992 Maastricht treaty provided that a further review should take place in 1996. Since the middle of this year, a reflection group has been preparing the ground. It will report to a summit meeting of the European Union in Madrid next month.

There is much to discuss. The present European Union began nearly 40 years ago as a group of six. Now there are 15 member states, and within the next decade there may be as many as 30. There are already too many commissioners. The requirement for unanimity among member states will make many decisions impossible. A blueprint for economic and monetary union exists, but several members will not want or be able to follow it. There is no common policy for foreign affairs and defense, nor for justice or domestic affairs. When the Union talks about trade policy, it is taken seriously in the world; when it talks about anything else, it is not.

The discussions so far have been reminiscent of an eminent surgeon brought to a badly injured victim of a car crash. Under difficult conditions he performs an admirable amputation on a leg. Unfortunately, it is the wrong leg. For what the reflection group is addressing is the wrong question. The present group of 15 member

Even now, with 15 states, no general solution is possible.

states is so hopelessly disparate that no general solution is possible. The British government is paralyzed by its Euroskeptics like a rabbit before a snake. Greece is an economic basket case. The Germans fear that the Deutsche mark, if merged with the lira, would turn into Esperanto money. The Swedes, as shown by recent

opinion polls, made a great mistake in joining; they do not want even the present degree of integration, let alone anything closer.

In early 1998 — in little more than two years — member states must decide whether to move to European monetary union. It looks increasingly likely that an inner group consisting of France, Germany, the Benelux countries and Austria might decide to go ahead on their own, on the grounds that the other nations will not be ready or willing to take part.

This will provoke cries of outrage. Europe is being split, people will thunder. In 1958, I remember seeing Reginald Maudling, the British minister for European affairs, to see Walter Hallstein, the president of the European Commission. The Treaty of Rome had been signed the previous year. The Six were going ahead with a customs union.

Mr. Maudling, to whom Continental events were about as fa-

miliar as the dark side of the moon, opened fire on Mr. Hallstein.

"The Six are splitting Europe," he cried. Mr. Hallstein demolished him: It was not the Six that were splitting Europe, it was Britain and the rest. The British had been created to join the customs union, but they had refused. They had every right to do so, but surely — being fond of clubs — they could see that if they refused to join a club, they could hardly complain about not being able to enjoy its facilities.

That customs union was not simply a commercial arrangement. The Treaty of Rome, which embodied it, was a major step toward the present Union. It seemed at the time to divide Europe. In fact, it turned out to be the best means of unifying Europe. Without the continued success of the Six from 1957 onward, the nine members that have joined since then would never have wanted to join.

Similarly, an inner EMU core would be a major step toward a European federation. If a small group of countries around France and Germany decided on economic union, it would be such a momentous move toward a pooling of national powers that a common foreign and defense policy (much easier in this small grouping) could not be far behind.

But the questions of organization will be equally momentous. The present European Commission would not constitutionally be able to service simultaneously an inner and an outer group. Might not a new treaty (perhaps the Treaty of Aachen) be necessary, along with a new, small executive that would deal with economic union, foreign policy and defense, and that would represent the new body in the IMF and the G7? This would mean that Europe could begin to run its own show on defense —

and not suffer the recent humiliation of America's vetoing the top appointment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

On this basis, the present commission would be left, rather like the OEEC in 1957, servicing a free trade grouping plus an agricultural and fisheries policy in a kind of outer circle.

What would happen with the rest of the community's fields, such as social policy and competition?

What would the relation be between the inner group and the outer circle? All 15 or 30 member states would need to be consulted, but the inner group would have the key vote. Would not the outer circle be the natural place for new entrants from Eastern and Central Europe?

These are the real questions confronting the organization of Europe today. For Europe has a choice. It can continue a futile effort to fit 15 wildly disparate states into one meaningful whole. Or those states that are willing to forge ahead should get together and decide how to do so and what their relationship will be with the rest. One day the rest will join.

In the meantime, those states should not hold up those that choose to act together to improve the prosperity of their citizens and their power to defend their interests in the world. Much will depend on whether, as in 1950, France and Germany take the lead.

International Herald Tribune.

What Happens if There Isn't Work?

By Richard Reeves

TALLAHASSEE, Florida — "Do you see any good news about jobs out there? I'd love to hear it!" said Bill Posey, a member of the Florida House of Representatives, after I spoke to legislators here about leadership and power and all that.

Asked about the greatest problem for future political leaders, I had said: "Finding a moral equivalent of work." What do we do if there is not enough work to go around in a country and a democracy built on the work ethic, where self-esteem is rooted in what you do and how much you make?

I don't know the answer. But I do think that American democracy is based on a prospering

more? The young ones are in white-collar slave jobs, and when they turn out they'll be replaced by a new crop of college graduates.

Flying on to Jacksonville, I saw more news of a kind in one of those USA Today's in the newspaper USA Today. This one was in the business section, reporting that the pay ratio of chief executives to average workers in big American corporations had gone from 41-to-1 in the mid-1970s to 187-to-1 last year.

The average annual pay of all the workers in companies with more than 25,000 employees went from \$8,000 to \$20,000 in that time, which in real dollars is actually a decline in pay.

And the average pay of the big bosses in those companies? That number went from \$326,000 a year to \$3.7 million a year. That is the moral or economic equivalent of rape.

Then I turned on "Morning Edition" on National Public Radio, and a sports commentator named Tim Green was talking about the musical stadium game being played by cities that want National Football League teams. Jacksonville was one of those cities, spending hundreds of millions of taxpayer dollars on a beautiful new stadium and other things for the benefit of the owners of the Jacksonville NFL franchise, the Jaguars. They could have called them the BMWs.

Well, thought I, ordinary fans love it, too — take me out to the ball game, tailgating and all that. Wrong again.

Mr. Green, who analyzes

games for the Fox network, went on to say: "I know that a lot of blue-collar people who once could attend the games can no longer do so. This is sad, but you can't fight it. Thankfully, the game itself is a great spectacle no matter where it's played, no matter who's sitting in the stands and no matter how much the players are being paid. Fortunately, the game still stands apart from the business."

It does? You could have fooled me, and the blue-collar fans who can no longer afford the spectacle.

Good old capitalism! Eyvo in Rome's declining days of bread and circuses, the blue-toga six-pack guys could go to the circus. Our guys not only are not going to sit in corporate sky-boxes in the new stadiums, they are not even going to get to see the boxes where America's elite will be signaling thumbs up and thumbs down on slaves of all colors.

"Maybe we are talking about whether the glass is half-full or half-empty," I said.

"I want to believe it's half-full," Mr. Posey said. "But if it is I can see it's still leaking. We're not making anything the world wants."

"Well, airliners," I said. "They're auctioning off the McDonnell Douglas plant here this week," he said. "The jobs there are long gone."

Mr. Posey had the quote of the week recently in the Palm Beach Post. This is what he said: "Unless people are independently wealthy, they're going to work, they're going on welfare or they're going to steal. There are no other alternatives."

Universal Press Syndicate.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1895: Parisian Deaths

PARIS — The sanitary state of Paris is evidently satisfactory, judging from the decreased number of deaths during the forty-seventh week of the year. These amounted to 871, compared to 892, the average number throughout the year. Epidemics have been rare. There were 14 deaths from measles, which is on the decrease; 6 from typhoid fever; 5 from scarlatina; 5 from whooping cough and 5 from diphtheria. There were 13 suicides and 10 violent deaths, 415 marriages and the births of 956 children were registered.

1920: Italians Roused

ROME — The tragic events at Bologna, in which ten were killed and eighty injured, have provoked a general cry of indignation against these frequent encounters between the hot heads of Socialism and Nationalism. Indignation too often takes the form of violence, and as

few men in Italy are entirely free from political passion, occurrences such as that of Bologna only foment further provocation. The Government has correctly diagnosed the evil which lies at the root of these political outbreaks, and announced that it will deal severely with the murderers.

1945: Palestine Release

JERUSALEM — Twenty illegal Jewish immigrants captured last week while trying to enter Palestine were released today [Nov. 28] by the government and taken to Jewish settlements. The "immigrants" ranged in age from twelve to twenty-two. The incident precipitated attacks on two coast guard stations over the week end, and riots in which at least nine Jews were killed. The immigrants were mostly from Poland, Rumania and Greece and bore concentration camp numbers tattooed on their arms from Dachau, Auschwitz and Birkenau.



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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. Tel. (11) 41.43.93.10. Fax: (11) 41.43.92.10. Adv.: (11) 41.43.92.12. Internet: IHT@eurcom.le
 Editor for Asia: Michael Robinson, 50 Robinson Rd., Singapore 0511. Tel. (65) 472-7788. Fax: (65) 274-2334
 Hong Kong: Mr. D. Kwan, 50 Robinson Rd., Hong Kong. Tel. (852) 2922-1188. Fax: (852) 2922-1190
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Why America Must Act in Bosnia

By Richard Cohen

WASHINGTON—For the last week or so, on television and in the newspapers, members of Congress and others have asked the same question over and over again: Why should the United States send 20,000 troops to Bosnia? The best answer I know was provided not by a politician or statesman but, as sometimes happens, a writer: Elie Wiesel. "We must do something to stop the bloodshed in that country," it is that simple.

I once thought otherwise. In fact, when Mr. Wiesel made that statement — at the 1993 opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum — I winced. The remark came in the course of Mr. Wiesel's speech and had an extemporaneous feel to it. The Nobel laureate had turned to President Bill Clinton and said: "And Mr. President, I must tell you something. I have been in the former Yugoslavia last fall. I cannot sleep since what I have seen ..."

"We must do something to stop the bloodshed in that country. People fight each other and children die. Why? Something, anything, must be done." I, too, had been to the former Yugoslavia — just after Mr. Wiesel, as it happens — and I had come away with a different prescription for America: keep out. Bosnia is a formidable, scary place of high mountains, brutish people and tribal grievances rooted in history and myth born of boozing nights by the fire. It's the place where World War I began and where the wars of Europe persist, an ember of hate still glowing for reasons that defy reason itself.

At the Pentagon, my view was confirmed. Mention Bosnia and men with stars shuddered. Things have changed since then — not entirely, but enough. Serbia's insanity exceeded its grasp. It now knows it cannot win the war it started. Croatia and an improved Bosnian Muslim army have matched it in some places, bettered it in others. Sanctions have bitten down hard on the present Yugoslavia — Serbia and Montenegro — and U.S. airpower, doing business as NATO, has proven both effective and intimidating. War is tiring and the former Yugoslavia is exhausted.

Besides, there is peace. The three sides have signed off on a document none of them really likes but all of them must honor. The United States will not be heading into a war zone but instead will be implementing an armistice. Almost certainly, the occasional rogue commander will break the peace and the occasional sniper will hone his skill on some poor soul — maybe a U.S. soldier. This will happen, probably and sadly, but it is no reason for the United States not to do what it can to ensure the peace in Yugoslavia.

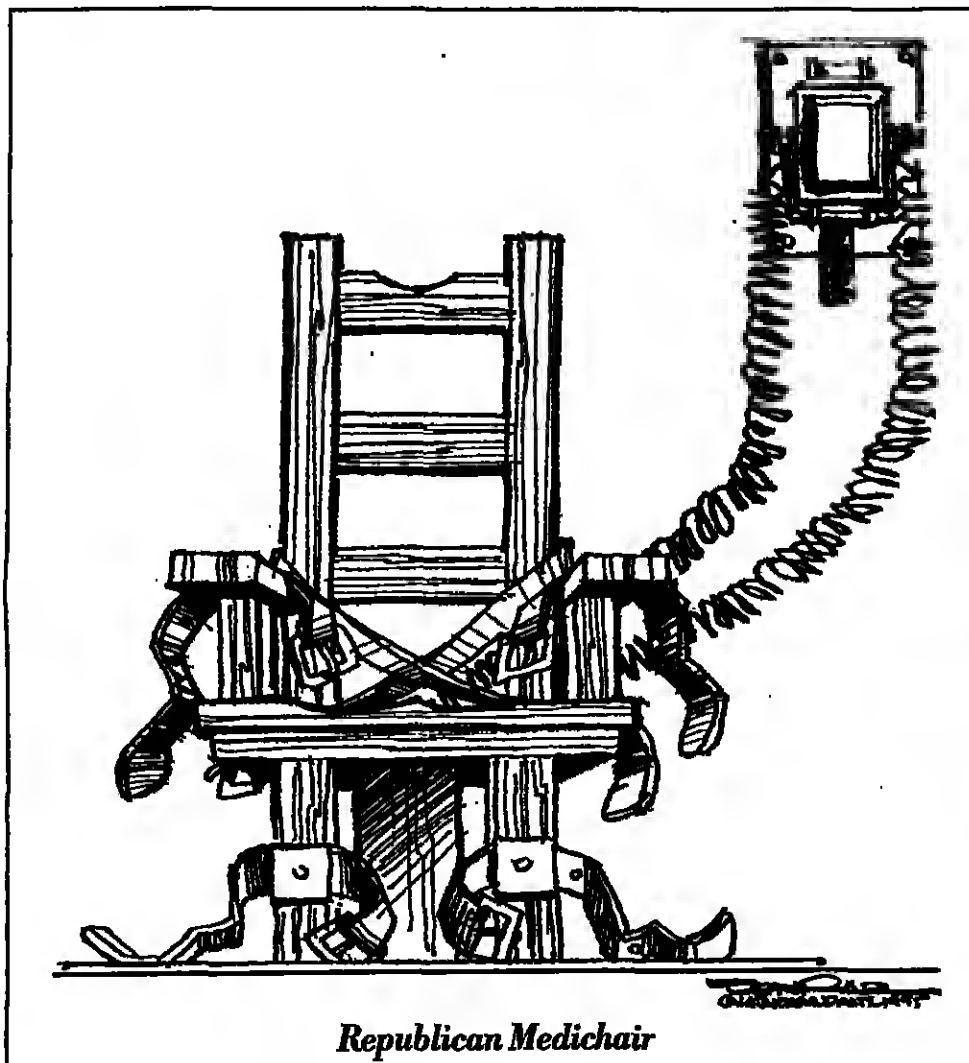
All these are good and sufficient reasons for the United States to honor President's Clinton's pledge. But there is another: Mr. Wiesel's. We have to do something. It is true that we Americans should not be the world's policeman and that, yes, Europe ought to be able to handle its own affairs. But Europe proved incapable of ending

the killing on its own flank. The United Nations, much maligned and hapless because we all prefer it that way, tried and failed also. So it comes down to us, America, and that is all there is to it. A job needs to be done, we can do it — and we ought to.

It was always hard for me to counsel staying out. I had seen the prisoner-of-war camps of Bosnia and the destruction of graceful Mostar. I will never forget any of that. The torture of thousands, the rape of even more thousands, the mass murder of unarmed men — a grandfather forced to eat his grandson's liver — all this evoked the Holocaust. Atrocities were being committed in Europe and the world, including America, was doing precious little.

In the end, sending troops to Bosnia may not work, either. Americans may die and still the war might go on — a pause for one side or another (probably the Serbs) to catch their breath, and then sniper fire from the mountains. But we can say we did the right thing. To do nothing would put us all into a category the late British writer Arthur Koestler created for a fellow intellectual who said he was unaware of the Holocaust: "an accomplice by omission." Mr. Koestler called him, Mr. Wiesel, another of those pesky intellectuals, said something similar to Mr. Clinton that day in 1993. He was right to have done so and Mr. Clinton, to my mind, was right to have proceeded cautiously. At the time the president called Bosnia "a challenge to all of us."

Now is the time to meet it. *The Washington Post.*



Republican Medichair

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Ignore Forecasts

Regarding "Will Germany Join the 21st Century?" (Finance, Nov. 21):

I cannot count the number of editorials I have read since 1980 that have predicted the imminent demise of the German economy because of the heavy cost of the German welfare system, high labor costs, the exorbitantly high tax rates and the aging and obsolete heavy industrial base.

At first I believed them, and I sat back and patiently awaited the harsh, unfortunate downturn. There were downturns, but by American standards they were somewhat soft, and they were always followed by continued growth and profitability in an already large economy.

Gradually, I began to doubt the credibility of these doom-day forecasts.

Will the Germans join the 21st century? I think they will, and they might surprise us with the standard of living that they join it with.

As to the impending downfall of the German economy, I would bet my bottom Deutsche mark that it ain't going to happen.

STEPHEN D. DOWNEY,
Meudon, France.

Faiths Coexist

Regarding "Revitalized Orthodox Church Searches for Unity" (Nov. 9):

The article fails to point out that the Greek Orthodox faith, along with the Armenian Church and the Jewish faith, have enjoyed religious freedom in Turkey ever since 1453, when Constantinople became popularly known as Istanbul with the Turkish conquest. Instead, the article mentioned

a threat by Muslim fundamentalists. Why would Turks threaten the Greek Orthodox patriarchy in Istanbul now if they have allowed it to operate for more than 500 years?

This tendency to ignore such a unique coexistence between Islam and Christianity in Turkey is deplorable. The Western media should instead praise such a feat of longevity and — thereby — avoid exacerbating prejudices against Islam.

Istanbul may be the only city in the world where mosques, churches and synagogues thrive side by side, without suffering any impediment by either party for centuries.

CEM UTKAN,
Tokyo.

Electronic Roadkill

Regarding "Ignore Those Ink-Stained Ingrates: Journalists Live!" (Opinion, Nov. 8):

The writer's concern about "the erosion by technology of journalist's status, prestige and influence in public affairs" is out new.

You read about it everywhere: the humor columnists write about it jocularly, the financial pages give it an economic spin, the human interest sections speak of the victims scattered like roadkill along the electronic highway. But mourning the passing of the guy with the pencil and notepad is as much a waste of time as mourning the passing of the guy who delivered the ice or the coal or the candles.

Electronic media, just like refrigerators and electric heaters and the lightbulb, are here. They're not going away. And they're going forward at such stunning speed that those

who are spending their time writing about how threatening they are risk being left way behind in the cold and dark.

I hope they have a large supply of coal and candles.

SHARI LESLIE SEGALL,
Paris.

On Charity

Regarding "Stingy and Devious" (Editorial, Nov. 9):

It's debatable whether private charity would fill the gap left by cutbacks in government assistance to the poor. What's not at issue, however, is the point the editorial completely misses: namely, that as taxes rise, charitable giving goes down.

No wonder, then, that the independent sector report citing the "downward trend" in charitable giving came right on the heels of President Bill Clinton's massive 1993 tax increase.

The best way for the U.S. government to foster charitable giving and volunteerism is to reduce the tax burden on well-meaning citizens, who are more likely to open their pocketbooks when Uncle Sam leaves them with more of their earnings to donate.

LAWRENCE DELANEY JR.,
London.

Bored by Princess

I am writing to express my concern about the article on the Princess of Wales (Nov. 22). Quite frankly, the princess has until now demonstrated an astonishing lack of vision and bored most of us with her dramas on her illness, consequently causing considerable damage to the royal family.

JAD LONG,
Geneva.

OPINION/LETTERS

A Star Simpson Prosecutor Flops on Broadway

By Frank Rich

NEW YORK — As New York humiliations go, closing on Broadway on opening night is near the top. Such was the self-inflicted fate of Christopher Darden on a recent Sunday — only weeks after he had held millions spellbound in the O. J. Simpson trial, the trial that was supposed to make everyone who fell within its spotlight a star forever.

It was on that Sunday that Mr. Darden, in his first visit ever to New York

MEANWHILE

City, was to give afternoon and evening lectures at \$25 a ticket, with \$100 buying a fan the chance to paw the man himself at a pre-lecture "catered reception." But at the matinee I attended at Town Hall, a 1,500-seat theater off Times Square, Mr. Darden's audience included a red-plush sea of roughly 900 empty seats. After he finished, both the evening performance and a Monday night repeat in Philadelphia were canceled.

This Broadway flop may be but a footnote to tabloid history. But it is also

a poignant illustration of what can happen to good people, especially good people in public service, when America's Faustian culture of celebrity comes to call. Wasn't this young prosecutor one of the very few good things to come out of the circus in Los Angeles? He still is, or could be, if he can wrest himself from that machine that reduces the suddenly famous to commodities suitable for slicing and dicing on "Hard Copy" and "Celebrity Jeopardy."

On that Sunday, as he gave in to the beast, I felt sorry for the guy. A block down 43d Street from Town Hall, a large and excited black audience lined up at another theater — to see "Def Comedy Jam." Mr. Darden's sparser audience was older and predominantly white; the desultory atmosphere was that of long-gone Times Square freak shows and porno houses. In place of barkers were a concert promoter and a publisher, ready to pounce should the press try to pry loose any of their client's intellectual property gratis.

During the "catered reception," Mr. Darden stood in a dim passageway as a procession of women, some of them balancing pizza with their cameras, insisted not just on an autograph but a kiss. "Chris, come party with us!" belted one impatient customer.

At the lecture itself, Mr. Darden picked up the cue, presenting himself as a clown and sex symbol. "I have tried to get married," he said as he deflected gossip linking him to his co-prosecutor Marcia Clark, inducing cries of "Keep trying!" and "I'll try with you!" But once he turned to his prepared talk, the mood changed completely. Mr. Darden, it turned out, actually had something to say.

His subjects were spouse abuse and race. "There's a man in this room right now who beats his wife or his girlfriend," he speculated as he slipped into his familiar courtroom manner, built on introspective pauses and incantatory repetitions.

Describing himself as a Republican who doesn't believe in a "race-based" world view, Mr. Darden turned his attention to America's racial divide.

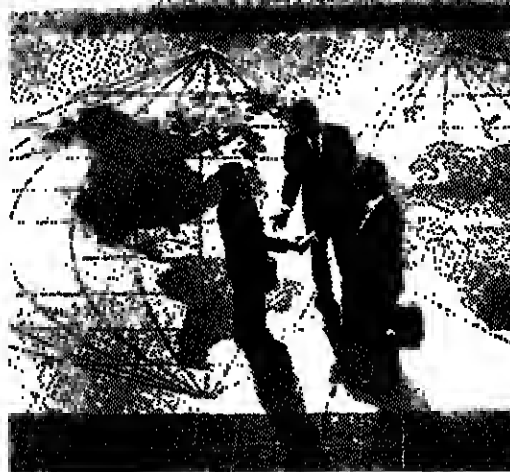
But rather than pander to an audience that waited for him to trash the Simpson jury, he instead used his platform to get his white listeners to see the L.A. Police Department from an African-American perspective. He told vividly of how he, too, had once been manhandled and accused of burglary by the police simply because he was driving a new car slowly in a white neighborhood.

"We're all Americans, we all sink or swim together," said Mr. Darden in a parting benediction, urging the assembled to "talk about issues that divide us." He sent me home feeling that he had used his talent to further that conversation, miraculously refocusing the energies of curiosity-seekers, myself included, who had arrived with titillation on the brain.

In other words, Mr. Darden's show is that rare flop well worth reviving, and for the largest possible audience. But to do so, he would not merely have to slash the ticket price; he'd have to do the thoroughly un-American thing of declaring himself that rare 15-minute celebrity whose soul is not for sale.

The New York Times.

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'Emmy Göring,' a Black Farce

By Paul Moor
International Herald Tribune

BERLIN — Hitler married only just before his death, so Nazi Germany had no "first lady" until Hitler's right-hand man, Hermann Göring, married Emmy Sonnemann, a lightweight provincial actress. Hitler was their best man. He also proclaimed Emmy Göring the Third Reich's "first lady," and even introduced a form of address — *Hohe Frau* — for her alone.

The young German playwright-director Oliver Reese has dramatized her story in a kind of black farce, "Emmy Göring at the Side of Her Husband," currently a sold-out hit at Berlin's Maxim Gorki Theater.

Reese has adapted his title from the self-serving memoir, "At the Side of My Husband," that Emmy Göring published after World War II.

It attracted little attention, but its serialization financially helped ease her drab existence.

The former *Hohe Frau* was reduced to doing her own shopping alongside other Munich housewives, with butchers and bakers addressing her as mere Frau Göring.

Anna Steffens, in the title role, utters oohing but verbal excerpts from the book. For Göring's dialogue, Reese has gone back to Göring's own writings and speeches.

Hitler and the early Nazis of the Weimar Republic patronized a café frequented by Emmy Sonnemann and her colleagues, and she met Göring, who was still mourning his first wife, through Hitler.

The Görings had one child, who was named after Benito Mussolini's daughter Edda, and their relationship endured until Göring killed himself, with smuggled cyanide, after the Nuremberg war crimes trials had sentenced him to death.

Steffens, a versatile young actress, gives a bravura performance.

She starts the evening in a flowered frock, her blond braids piled together in a

chignon — the quintessence of young female Germanhood according to Nazi concepts.

From the beginning she stresses her status as a "stage artist" who was "completely unpolitical" when Göring won her heart.

The program contains devastating quotations from post-war autobiographical writings by leading German theatrical lights, all of them, of course, "completely unpolitical" and still proud of it.

One quotation from Gustaf Gründgens, a leading actor during the Third Reich, puts it this way:

"The German actor in general was politically uninterested... German actors share that lack of political education with the entire German people."

When Emmy married, she bade the stage farewell, but not before Göring's favor had brought her engagements opposite Germany's leading stars, including Gründgens.

Gründgens, who was widely known to be a homosexual, for 12 years risked being sent to a

concentration camp, but Göring shielded him. After the war, Gründgens received overdue credit for having skillfully manipulated Göring's admiration in order to help, and even save, some of his colleagues.

Robert Lohr effectively interprets Göring's development from his time as a pilot during World War I until, heavier and heavier, uniforms flashier and flashier, he stands in the middle of the audience bellowing:

"I have no conscience! My conscience is Adolf Hitler!"

Seeing this play in Berlin itself, almost around the corner from the heart of Nazi power (definitely recreated scenically by Hansjörg Hartung and Elina Schmitzer) and Hitler's suicide bunker, lends it a unique impact.

This and another play that Reese has written and staged here — based on letters written by the 1960s child-murderer Jürgen Bartsch — make the 31-year-old playwright a young man to watch.



A scene from "The Threepenny Opera" at the Théâtre National de Chaillot in Paris.

LONDON STAGE

O'Neill's 'Elms': Uneasy in Ireland

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Eugene O'Neill's "Desire Under the Elms" (at the Tricycle) is on the move again. First seen on Broadway in 1924, this was the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus transposed to a New England farm of the 1850s. For the new production, Shared Experience brings it further forward, to the Ireland of the 1950s where it sits somewhat uneasily, lurching from the Greeks to Brian Friel in its search for a stylistic resting place.

Yet there still is a terrible beauty here. The story of the old farmer (Jonathan Cullen) who has worked his second wife to death and packed two sons off to California only to have the third start sleeping with his third wife, still has all the inevitability of Greek tragedy and all the strengths of O'Neill's familial fury. But a story of revenge and retribution on this scale somehow sits uneasily even in the backwoods of postwar Ireland.

Polly Teale's production is thoughtful, spare and strong, but it can never quite overcome the mixed inheritance of Euripides and 19th-century American settlers. We really only care about these people as symbols or pawns in an elemental struggle of sex and greed and death. Seldom do they become recognizable as people in their own right, and we mind that the more somehow if we are in the Ireland of living memory rather than age-old myth.

At the Royal Court Upstairs, Judy Up-

ton's "Bruises" suggests that Worthing is no longer the ideal choice for a happy family holiday by the seashore. Against a backdrop of stacked deckchairs out of season, her world is that of the old bed-and-breakfast hotels that have now become welfare lodgings inhabited by people for whom the only possible language is bodily violence.

Upton has already won a playwrighting award for this bleak domestic-violence drama, and it is not hard to see why. She writes with a raw, despairing strength about a chain of people who are bruised as often as bruising. The bullying father (Ian Redford) beats up his son (Billy Carter) even as he beats up his girlfriend (Stephanie Buttle), and the circle of pain is completed by a vacuous lodger willing to sleep with father and son in return for a little company.

THE glib moral would seem to be to get the hell out of there and find a job, but Upton's Irish expatriates have been defeated long before this play begins, by ghosts in the family closet and a culture of unemployment. Seaside resorts out of season have always been a rich area for moviemakers intent on exploring the doomed and the damned, but here we are dealing with a harrowing drama of everyday life. Nobody ever suggests that Upton's people don't exist, don't wound and get wounded; her problem is that precisely because their language is almost exclusively physical and brutal, speeches of explanation or involvement are reduced to grunts of rage or acknowledgement. Yet precisely because she has carved a touch-

ing, moving and finally involving play out of such bleak and ungiving territory, she is beyond question a dramatist to watch.

At the Lyric Hammersmith Studio, Paul Godfrey's "The Modern Husband" is an intriguing revamp of a long-neglected Henry Fielding drama that has been left in period but totally restructured. It now runs less than two hours rather than over three, and what Godfrey has done is cut to the quick of the action about a man who is willing "in this stock-jobbing age" to prostitute his wife in order to stay out of a debtors' prison.

Fielding, soon after this, gave up playwrighting for "Tom Jones," but here as in the novel there is the constant shock of modernity. His world was one where money and class mattered a lot more than virtue or vice, and where gossip was the common currency. As usual the Actors' Touring Company is working on a minimal set with a cast of only five; yet they manage to convey a sense of early 17th-century London in all its hectic, confused immorality.

What Godfrey shows us is Fielding stripped to the bone. Here are no period flourishes, just a cynical acceptance that since time began people will always behave in the way which best suits their moment, and that we only have to spin the stage a little to see apparent vice and virtue from altogether different perspectives. An agile, scene-setting and scene-shifting cast led by Richard Cant and Shelly King in Nick Philippou's production also work in this quick-cut tradition. It is as though a laser has been shot through a very long ovel to extract the heart.

From Weill to Marx Brothers

By David Stevens
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The sultry atmosphere of Berlin in the late 1920s has been providing a musical-theatrical background for the social unrest of the Parisian autumn, notably with productions of Brecht and Weill's "Threepenny Opera" and "Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny."

"The Threepenny Opera" is at the Théâtre National de Chaillot, in French as "L'opéra de quat'sous," in an energetic production that comes from the Théâtre de la Manufacture in Nancy.

Its considerable virtue is completeness and faithfulness

to the layout of the original. This extends even to restoring the "Pirate Jenny" song to Polly in the wedding banquet scene, instead of following what might be called the Lotte Lenya tradition of giving it to Jenny in the bordello scene. It puts the song in an entirely different light.

Also included is Lucy's aria, which was cut in the original Berlin production. Isabelle Gossard fought a game but losing struggle with its Handel-like difficulties, but was otherwise a peppy Lucy.

Where Charles Tordjman's production was unfaithful was in letting the social seaminess show too clearly. Mackie's elegance is only a veneer, as is Tiger Brown's official pompos-

ity, but they are necessary facades for the vulgarity that should not show too clearly. That said, Daniel Martin as Mackie and Jean-Claude Leguay as Police Chief Brown (also as the street singer and the queen's rider) brought plenty of vigor to their roles, and Isabelle Mazin hid Folly's toughness in an innocent demeanor.

The entrance of "Mahagonny" into the repertoire of the Paris Opéra was not a particularly happy one, due in large part to the inhospitable vastness of the Bastille stage.

Graham Vick's stage was overpopulated, perhaps in an effort to fill the available space, with the result that Leocadia Begbick (Trudelliese Schmidt) and Jenny (Marie McLaughlin) were lost in the crowd much of the time, although Kim Begley as Jim Mahoney made it through with his substantial tenor.

A redeeming element was the brisk, hard-edged performance of the orchestra under Jeffrey Tate's alert direction.

A chance to see the newly reissued G.W. Pabst "Threepenny Opera" movie supplies more than a footnote to the stage work. Made two years after the 1928 premiere to take advantage of the enormous popularity of the stage piece, it turned out to be anything but a remake.

Brecht was hired as scenarist, but he had become much more Marxist in the meantime and set about writing a new ending, although he had to go to court to do it. In the film's ending, Polly engineers a bank takeover, Mackie becomes its president — while little of Weill's music is used and that out of order. But Lenya got to sing the "Pirate Jenny."

It was about this time that Arnold Schoenberg wrote his "Begleitmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene" (Musical Accompaniment for a Film Scene). But

the film was nonexistent, except that the composer supplied its imaginary, angst-laden content in few words, progressing from "threatening danger" to "fear" to "catastrophe" in less than 10 minutes.

At the Théâtre du Châtelet, the Théâtre de la Monnaie of Brussels brought a triple-bill in which this music forms the centerpiece, in an unlikely pairing with the famous scene of the overcrowded stateroom in the Marx brothers' "A Night at the Opera."

This is preceded by "Erwartung," the one-character opera in which a woman wanders through a forest, finds the corpse of her lover and gives vent to jealous anguish. Klaus Michael Gruber staged it simply in front a bosky curtain by Gilles Aillaud through which a moon glows darkly, and Anja Silja sang the long solo part with immense security and feeling.

The third part was a ballet by Anne Teresa de Keersmaecker set to the early "Transfigured Night," a quasi-Wagnerian tone poem that nevertheless has a literary program, based on a poem by Richard Dehmel. A woman admits to her lover that she is pregnant by another man, but he is very accepting of the situation.

That may or may not have something to do with the beautifully fluid dance, set this time at the edge of a three-dimensional forest, and which was both highly kinetic and highly sensual.

Antonio Pappano was the committed conductor for all three works, played without an intermission. Although the three pieces were composed at different times, they are united by the expressive intensity of Schoenberg's musical thought and made a strangely effective three-in-one program.

Still, it would have been interesting to be present when the production team decided on the "conception" of pairing Schoenberg and the Marx brothers.

BEST SELLERS

The New York Times
This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.

FICTION

This Week	Last Week	Wk. on List
1 THE LOST WORLD, by Michael Crichton	1	5
2 THE CHRISTMAS BOX, by Richard Paul Evans	5	4
3 SILENT NIGHT, by Mary Higgins Clark	2	6
4 THE CHILDREN'S BOOK OF VIRTUES, edited by William J. Bennett. Illustrated by Michael Hague	7	3
5 THE HORSE WHISPERER, by Nicholas Evans	4	10
6 THE HUNDRED SECRET SENSES, by Amy Tan	3	4
7 MORNING, NOON AND NIGHT, by Sidney Sheldon	6	10
8 POLITICALLY CORRECT HOLIDAY STORIES, by James Finn Garner	9	6
9 THE CELESTINE PROPHET, by James Redfield	8	91
10 FINDING MOON, by Tony Hillerman	11	5
11 THE ISLAND OF THE DAY BEFORE, by Umberto Eco	12	2
12 COMING HOME, by Rosemary Platt	10	12
13 LOVE IN ANOTHER TOWN, by Barbara Taylor Bradford	15	5
14 BEACH MUSIC, by Pat Conroy	14	20
15 DRAGONS OF SUMMER FLAME, by Margaret Weiss and Tracy Hickman	1	

NONFICTION

1 MISS AMERICA, by Howard Stern	1	
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2 MY AMERICAN JOURNEY, by Colin F. Powell	1	9
3 CHARLES KURLAND'S EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, by David Coleman	2	4
4 DAVID BRINKLEY, by David Brinkley	3	8
5 MY POINT AND DO I HAVE ONE, by Ellen DeGeneres	5	2
6 LINCOLN, by David Herbert Donald	14	12
7 A GOOD LIFE, by Ben Bradlee	6	7
8 SISTERS, Essays by Carol Seltzer. Photographs by Sharon J. Wohlman	7	48
9 MY LIFE IN HIGH HEELS, by Loui Anderson with Lucinda Warren	8	23
10 DAYS OF OUR LIVES, by Lourdes Zeila	1	
11 MINDHUNTER, by John Douglas and Mark Olshaker	1	
12 THE MORAL COMPASS, edited by William J. Bennett	11	3
13 HIGH TIDE IN TUCSON, by Barbara Kingsolver	12	7
14 ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS	1	
15 MEN ARE FROM MARS, WOMEN ARE FROM VENUS, by John Gray	1	131
16 THE SEVEN SPIRITUAL LAWS OF SUCCESS, by Deepak Chopra	2	36
17 DAVID LETTERMAN'S BOOK OF TOP TEN LISTS, by David Letterman, Steve O'Donnell, et al.	3	5
18 THE MARTHA STEWART COOKBOOK, by Martha Stewart	1	

BOOKS

DON'T DIE BEFORE YOU'RE DEAD

By Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. 415 pages. \$25. Random House.

Reviewed by Anthony Olcott

NEAR the end of this entertaining and unsettling book Yevgeny Yevtushenko tells of his outrage in 1972, when Soviet border guards confiscated 124 "forbidden" books he had collected while in the United States. The anecdote captures not only the "riddle within a mystery" that long has been Yevtushenko, a poet and Soviet-era liberal, but also the much darker and more slippery enigma of Russia itself, with which Yevtushenko tries to wrestle in this autobiographical novel.

On one level, Yevtushenko's complaint about the books seems hubristic, bathetic. In 1972 Russians went to America and Americans went to the moon in approximately equal numbers. To be sure, Yevtushenko was among those few "Americans" because of his genuine talent as a poet; equally important though was Yevtushenko's talent for speaking out just daringly enough to be embraced by the West, yet rarely so daringly as to stumble beyond the grace of Moscow's ideologues.

In another way, though, Yevtushenko's

complaint is wholly just — no sane or normal country would require grown men and women to beg the permission of border guards in order to import a few books.

Yevtushenko would very much like "Don't Die Before You're Dead" to be the story of how in August 1991 the ordinary people of Russia finally stood up to the book-snatchers and border-closers. Ringed around their White House, defending their infant democracy against an assault that, mercifully, never came, the simple citizens of Moscow — and the not-so-simple ones too, like Yevtushenko — put aside a lifetime of fear, in countless acts of civic bravery that this quasi-novel would like to re-create and celebrate.

However, both this book and Yevtushenko act much like witnesses who are only 95 percent convinced that they have properly understood what they saw; gnawed by that 5 percent of sinister uncertainty, "Don't Die Before You're Dead" twitches and thrashes, taking the form now of detective story, now of autobiography, now even of poetry, as Yevtushenko tries to satisfy himself that the events of 1991 were really the birth of a new Russia and not simply the screen behind which the powerful of old Russia slipped out of Marx and into Giorgio Armani.

It is the novelistic parts of "Don't Die Before You're Dead" that make plain the

human cost of old Russia, and so the danger of an unchanged new Russia. The novel's fictional characters illustrate lyrical and moving stories of lost loves, missed opportunities and lives buckled beneath the pressure of constant fear. Hundreds of these people came together on the barricades around the White House, where for a few days in August 1991 they demanded successfully to be in control of their own country, and their own lives.

Unfortunately, when it comes to deciding whether the attempted coup and the democracy it spawned are real or, as he fears, simply a piece of elaborate theater meant to benefit the powerful few and confuse the suffering many, Yevtushenko hedges, stranding his most disturbing speculations somewhere between fact and fiction.

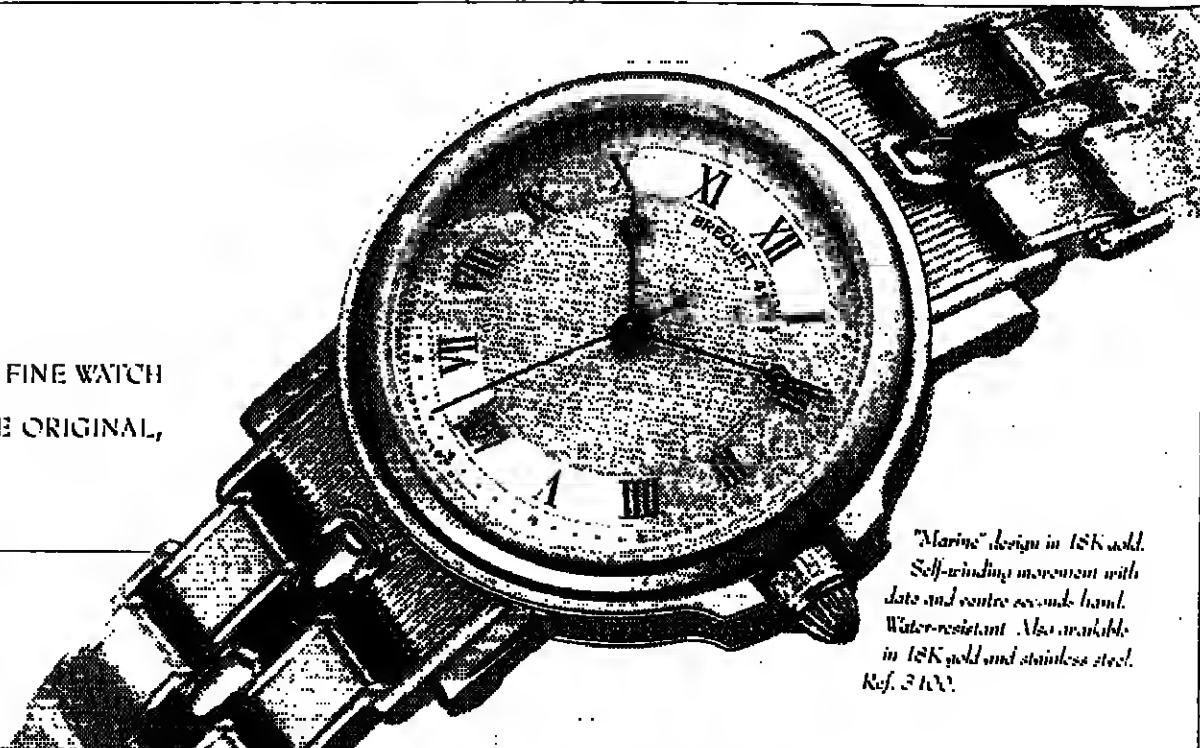
Yevtushenko's frank discussion of his lifelong fear makes it difficult to condemn his preference for not demanding stricter accountings from his country's new leaders, who in Yevtushenko's own words have now left Russia "nowhere — between the past and the future." The book also makes clear, however, that the price of such diffidence is that Yevtushenko remains in danger of someday having once again to defend the contents of his suitcases.

Anthony Olcott, a teacher at Colgate University, wrote this for The Washington Post.

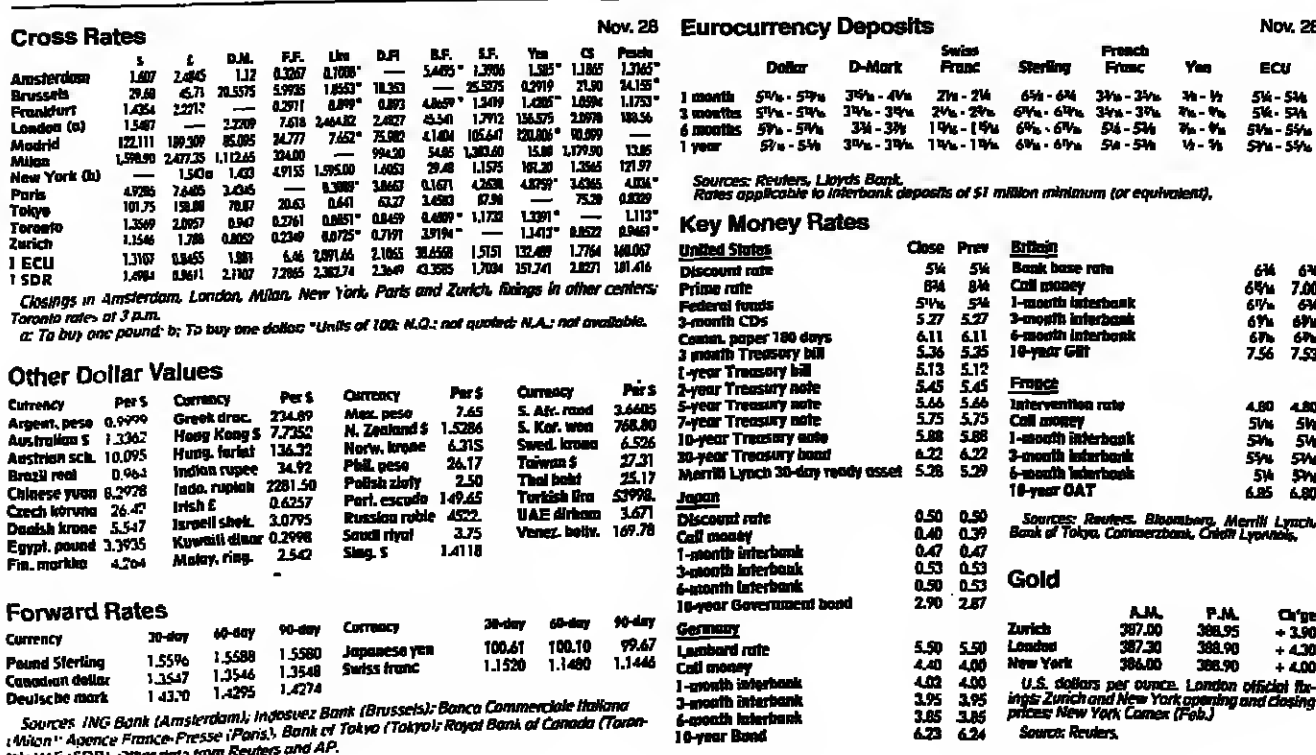
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ASIA/PACIFIC

Chip Boom Spurs Profits at NEC And Mitsubishi

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — NEC Corp. and Mitsubishi Electric Corp. said Tuesday that booming sales of semiconductors had led to higher first-half profits on their global operations and should mean higher earnings for the full year as well.

Mitsubishi Electric, however, raised concern that a flood of investment in new facilities by chipmakers could begin weighing on global semiconductor prices in the middle of the next financial year, which begins April 1, 1996.

NEC's consolidated net income jumped 78 percent, to 20.24 billion yen (\$199 million) in the six months ended Sept. 30, and sales climbed 10.4 percent, to 1.922 trillion yen. Earnings per share rose to 13.10 yen from 7.36 yen a year earlier.

Mitsubishi Electric's consolidated net was 21 percent higher, at 25.2 billion yen, as sales rose 5 percent to 1.603 trillion yen. Earnings per share climbed to 10.97 yen from 9.12 yen.

NEC is Japan's leading computer-chip maker, and Mitsubishi Electric is one of the five largest makers. NEC is also Japan's largest manufacturer of personal computers.

"Demand for semiconductors was quite strong amid the global boom in personal computers and mobile communications equipment," said Yoshihiro Suzuki, NEC's executive vice president.

Masatoshi Umeda, a managing director for Mitsubishi

Electric, said chip prices could fall next year. Mitsubishi Electric and NEC are among a flock of companies planning to invest in new production capacity.

Many analysts have predicted that global computer-chip sales will continue gaining through the end of the decade. Globally, the market should more than double to \$331 billion in 2000 from \$149 billion this year, according to a recent report by the U.S.-based research firm Dataquest Inc.

Both NEC and Mitsubishi Electric said they had raised their profit forecasts for the year ending March 31.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

Nikkei Gets a Lift

The Nikkei Stock Average rose to a 10-week high as a stable U.S. dollar boosted technology and steel shares and hints of a solution to the problems of Japan's housing-loan companies lifted banking issues.

Bloomberg Business News reported.

"There's still a trend toward buying electricals, especially on the back of moves in New York," said Peter Boyce, a Japanese-equities trader at James Capel Securities.

Led by shares of the semiconductor maker Nikon Corp. and Bank of Tokyo Ltd., the Nikkei 225 average rose 145.28 points, or 0.78 percent, to close at 18,688.42 points, its highest level since Sept. 18. Advancing issues led declines by almost a 2-to-1 ratio.

CRA Stokes Up for Battle Firm Aims to Break Coal Unions' Power

Bloomberg Business News

SYDNEY — In just three years, CRA Ltd. has broken labor unions' decades-old grip on its iron-ore mines. Now it's trying to do the same at its coal mines.

While the resulting profit could run into tens of millions of dollars a year, the task will be a lot harder, and the risks are huge. A strike against the coal industry could cost Australia \$20 million a day in export earnings, send the Australian dollar plummeting and cause Japanese and South Korean steel plants — major coal customers — to cut production.

"I don't think you could de-unionize the coal industry if you take the unions head-on," said John Colman, a mining analyst at Shaw Stockbroking in Sydney. "The Australian economy is so reliant on coal exports, it's enormous."

Coal holds a unique position in Australia's economy. It earns the country \$2 billion Australian dollars (\$6.1 billion) a year from exports. Australia dominates world trade in seaborne coal. The prices Australian coal producers charge Japanese consumers are industry benchmarks, largely determining prices around the world.

Yet CRA has a lot to gain. In the iron business, switching the miners from hourly wages to monthly salaries — showing the union aside in the process — has brought more productivity and record profit. The workers earn more, too, CRA says — about 7,000 dollars more annually than the average iron miner, who makes about 50,000 dollars a year.

CRA even broke the tightest union at its ports by selling the boats and signing nonunion contracts with the new owners. That means CRA's iron ore moves steadily out of its ports, even if the rest of Australia's harbors are shut down.

CRA is leading the charge against the mining unions, which like most Australian unions are shrinking. Union membership has fallen from almost 70 percent of the work force after World War II to about 30 percent now.

Since the beginning of 1991, CRA stock has more than doubled, from \$2.92 dollars when it began its anti-union push, to more than 21 dollars now. If CRA can win in the coal

business, "there is even more upside than in the iron ore mines," Mr. Colman said.

But that's a big "if." Breaking the coal miners' union would be the beginning of the end for the mining unions, so they are likely to fight hard. The coal miners are tough-spirited, better paid than the iron miners and well organized.

"Once people are in the industry, we make sure they are looked after," said John Maitland, joint national president of the Construction Forestry Mining and Electrical Union, the coal miners' union. "How many people wouldn't want to move into an industry and earn an average of 1,300 dollars to 1,400 dollars a week? If you advertised the jobs, you would get knocked down in the rush."

It wasn't always that way. Militancy in the coal mining industry was born of terrible working conditions in the early 1900s and the autocratic rule of some mine owners.

These days, however, the strong-arm stuff doesn't work as well. CRA is promising workers more money in return for more productivity. "It's just good business sense — there's nothing magical about it," said Ian Head, a CRA spokesman.

"All the indicators we have when we put workers on contract are that we are getting very rapid and very measurable improvements in performance."

But CRA is proceeding cautiously with the union at its Vickers mine in New South Wales, where it said the closed shop discriminated against women. It got the union to agree to let more women join.

The big fight is likely to be hard and long, however. If it cuts into coal exports, it would hurt the Australian economy and currency, not to mention putting a big dent in Japanese and Korean steel production.

For now, CRA says it won't amass a blitzkrieg-type attack against the coal miners. "We are going to be in business for a long time," said Mr. Head, the company's spokesman. "It doesn't matter if it's this year or next year or the year after."

Reliance May Delist In Bombay

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BOMBAY — Reliance Industries Ltd., the largest private company in India, said Tuesday it might remove its listing from the Bombay Stock Exchange.

The news sent shudders through the market, and the Sensitive Index closed down 63.06 points, at 2,960.22.

"There was panic selling in the market," one dealer said. "Reliance has threatened to delist from BSE, but what about the investors?"

Reliance Industries shares, which account for 10 percent of the Sensitive Index, fell 10.5 rupees, to 209 (\$6.13).

Reliance Industries is in a dispute with the exchange over the issuance of duplicate shares that led to a three-day suspension of its stock. The company has denied any wrongdoing.

"The company is considering various options including delisting," a spokesman for the petrochemicals and textiles concern said.

The company said delisting would not mean its stock would stop trading on the exchange, India's largest, but that the company would not be answerable to the exchange's board. But the executive director of the exchange, R.C. Mathur, said the company must obey the rules.

Reliance Industries shares also trade on the year-old National Stock Exchange.

A newspaper report said three other Reliance companies were considering delisting. They are Reliance Petroleum Ltd., Reliance Capital Ltd. and Reliance Industrial Infrastructure Ltd.

The exchange suspended Reliance Industries shares for three days last week to punish the company for wrongly issuing replacement share certificates.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

Firm Bullish on India

Goldman, Sachs & Co. said it planned private equity placements worth several hundred million dollars in unlisted companies in India over the next five years, Reuters reported.

Executives of the firm said stocks and private placements were attractive investments as India's economy opened.

Investor's Asia

Hong Kong Hang Seng	Singapore Straits Times	Tokyo Nikkei 225
10000	2300	20000
9517	2200	18000
9033	2100	16000
8550	2000	14000
8000	1900	12000
7500	1800	10000
7000	1700	8000
6500	1600	6000
6000	1500	4000
5500	1400	2000
5000	1300	1000
4500	1200	500
4000	1100	200
3500	1000	100
3000	900	50
2500	800	20
2000	700	10
1500	600	5
1000	500	2
500	400	1
0	300	0

Source: Reuters

Very briefly:

- Acer Inc. of Taiwan raised its forecast of 1995 net profit by 34 percent, to 5.5 billion Taiwan dollars (\$301.4 million), because of strong sales of personal computers. Acer earned a record 3.1 billion dollars in 1994.
- The Islamic Development Bank approved \$222 million in loans for 20 member countries and seven Muslim communities in nonmember countries.
- Victor Co. of Japan Ltd. plans to raise its stake to 80 percent from 40 percent in Hughes JVC Technology, a joint venture between JVC and Hughes Aircraft Co., a unit of General Motors Corp., and transfer some production to Japan from California.
- Standard & Poor's Corp. will lower ratings on the commercial paper of two subsidiaries of Pioneer Electronic Corp. of Japan; the credit-rating concern cited the parent company's weakening ability to return to profit.
- Rolls-Royce PLC invested \$20 million in setting up a joint venture in the aerospace-overhaul business in Hong Kong with Haeco, a unit of Swire Pacific Ltd.
- Komatsu Ltd. plans to focus more on Asian markets, especially China. The construction-equipment maker said it had also made progress in setting up joint ventures in Russia, where demand for bulldozers is growing.
- The China Daily said traders were buying foreign cars and storing them in bonded warehouses in anticipation of tariff cuts to take effect in China in 1996.
- The Philippines is on track to achieve "a very good growth rate" for 1995 but must raise its savings rate to finance expansion and pursue policy reforms to cushion it from external shocks, the International Monetary Fund said. Manila has forecast full-year gross national product growth of as much as 6.5 percent.
- Vietnam reported inflation of 13.8 percent for the year ended Saturday, a figure below the government's target rate for the first time this year, according to official statistics.

AP, AFP, AFX, Bloomberg, Knight-Ridder, Reuters

Jobless Rate in Japan Remains at Record High

Bloomberg Business News

TOKYO — The government said Tuesday that unemployment was at a record high of 3.2 percent for a fifth consecutive month in October, bolstering the view that the country's economic ills are far from over.

The greatest job losses came, as they have for months, at manufacturing companies and among young people and middle-aged men, the government said. About 5.6 percent of adults under age 25 were without jobs, while 4.8 percent of men between 55 and 64 were unemployed.

Tokyo said manufacturers were cutting costs to offset weak demand, falling prices and the still-strong yen. Small manufacturers unable to cope were going out of business, forcing workers out of jobs.

Compared with the like month a year earlier, about 430,000 manufacturing jobs were lost, a decline of 2.8 percent, to 14.69 million. Agriculture lost about 110,000 workers.

PAPER: A Family Saga Lies Behind Big Changes at the L.A. Times

Continued from Page 13

Diego, said in a recent interview. "We were frustrated with the paper's slant, but it was always talk. There was never a plan to do anything about it. If a newspaper is supposed to reflect the opinions of its owners, it hasn't."

Now, he insisted, that is changing. "We just want the paper brought back to the center, and I think you've seen less extreme positions already." Mr. Chandler said. "The family feelings were made known to both Willes and Ebberts, that we simply weren't going to tolerate this stuff any more."

After suffering through five years of costly mistakes and weak earnings — Times Mirror had a \$67 million loss in 1992, and its return on equity last year was 9.5 percent, compared with

an industry average of 14.5 percent — the company has undertaken cutbacks, layoffs and the summary closing of some operations such as New York Newsday. The company said the cost-cutting moves would result in \$540 million in after-tax charges this year.

The Chandlers still control nearly 60 percent of Times Mirror's voting stock and four seats on the 15-member board, including one held by Bruce Chandler, another of Philip's four children. But no Chandler has held a senior executive position since Otis stepped down as publisher of the Times in 1980 and as chairman of Times Mirror in the mid-1980s.

Otis Chandler's only attempt to place a family member in contention for a top job ended 15 years ago when his eldest son, Norman, suffered a brain tumor.

Mr. Willes said in a recent interview that his instructions from the board had been general rather than specific. "There wasn't a mandate in the sense of 'We expect you to come in and have this done by this date,'" he said.

He added, though, that "the board and management know substantial change is needed." Shelby Coffey III, the newspaper's editor, said neither the board nor the family had put pressure on him to alter news coverage or editorial policies.

It seemed sudden, but in fact Times Mirror's transformation and the rise of the more conservative side of the family had been proceeding quietly for a decade, ever since Otis Chandler was pushed aside by the more conservative Chandlers, according to former editors and executives at the paper.

Some Chandlers still want

more change. Jeffrey has said he would like to see an end to certain kinds of coverage, including stories on product-liability suits by consumers against manufacturers and those asserting that some companies are placing polluting factories in poor neighborhoods. But there is no evidence that anyone on the editorial side of the newspaper is listening.

The only indication of a rightward turn in the paper's policies was the endorsement last year of Pete Wilson, the Republican governor of California, for re-election. Many members of the editorial board opposed the decision.

Marilyn Chandler, Otis Chandler's former wife, said: "The problem is that Otis retired rather early. It's good to have a family member down there keeping an eye on things. I wish we had more."

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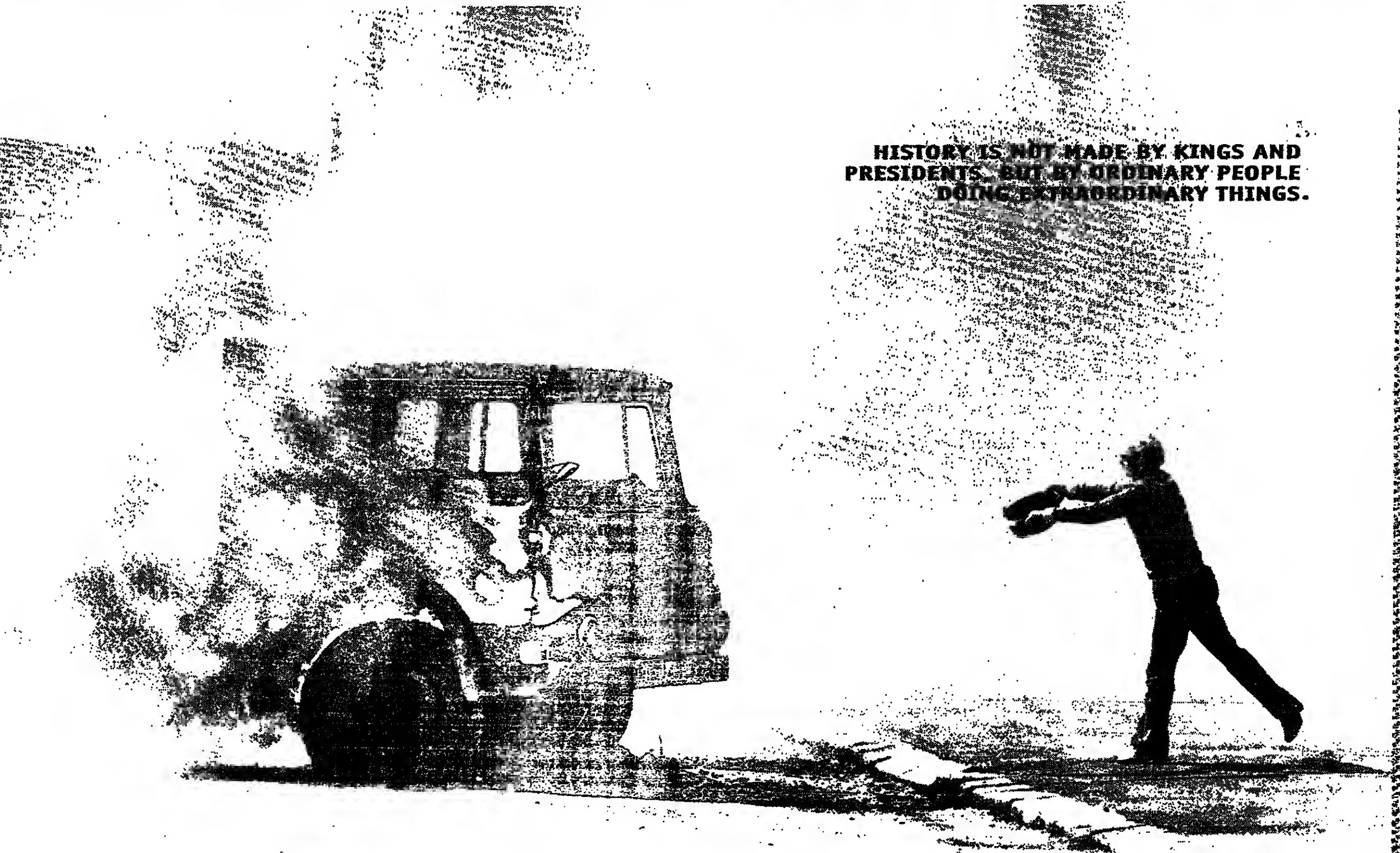
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Tuesday's 4 p.m. Close
(Continued)

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WORLD ROUNDUP



Andre Agassi, who has dropped out of the U.S. Davis Cup team.

Agassi Drops Out

TENNIS Andre Agassi, who has been sidelined with a chest injury, withdrew from the U.S. team for the Davis Cup final against Russia in Moscow, which starts Friday. Agassi will be replaced by Richey Reneberg, a doubles specialist. Pete Sampras and Jim Courier are expected to play the singles rubbers. Todd Martin and Reneberg the doubles. (AP)

Graf Makes Statement

TENNIS Peter Graf's two-page written declaration failed to answer "critical questions," said Peter Wechsung, the Mannheim prosecutor. Graf, the father of Steffi Graf, ranked No. 1 in world tennis, has been in jail since August over alleged tax evasion. His declaration Tuesday would not alter his status, said Wechsung. (AP)

Formula One Boy Racer

MOTOR RACING The Minardi Formula One team has signed a 17-year-old driver, Esteban Tuero, an Argentine who won the Italian Formula 2000 championship, will race next season in Italian Formula One tests, Minardi said. (Reuters)

Robinson Tries to Resign

BASEBALL Frank Robinson, the assistant general manager of the Baltimore Orioles, said he has offered his resignation and plans to offer it again after the hiring of Pat Gillick as general manager. Robinson, 60, has been with the Orioles for 19 years, the last five as assistant GM. He was not a candidate to succeed Roland Hemond.

The pitcher Sid Fernandez and the Philadelphia Phillies agreed to a one-year contract for \$250,000 and possible bonuses of \$1.4 million. Fernandez also will get \$3 million from Baltimore, which released him July 10.

Vinny Castilla, the All-Star third baseman, agreed to a two-year contract reportedly worth \$3.2 million to stay with the Colorado Rockies. (AP)

Refs and League to Meet

BASKETBALL The NBA's locked-out referees and the league are to meet Wednesday in New York, the first negotiations since the union rejected an offer Nov. 20. The NBA says its last offer contains salaries from \$85,000 to \$261,000 this season and \$90,000 to \$328,000 in the final season of a five-year deal. The referees say the range should be \$75,000 to \$211,000 in the first year and \$80,000 to \$278,000 in the fifth. (AP)

Thanks, I'd Rather Watch the Video

International Herald Tribune
GIVE the Japanese an inch and they take a technological mile. In Tokyo on Tuesday, I was put on the cutting edge of sports. In the afternoon I saw 3-D pictures that put the viewer seemingly closer to the action than I ever thought possible.

Then I drove down to the National Stadium there, to hail the best two club teams of Europe and South America — Ajax of the Netherlands versus Gremio of Brazil.

How could there even be a choice to make? To sit and watch film, albeit through the most advanced state-of-the-art technology, or to sit close to the sidelines when men of real flesh and blood, gifted young individuals, compete to the limits of their heart and nerve and sinew?

No contest. Some 47,129 people paid between 30,000 and 90,000 yen (\$30-\$90) to be at the real game. Countless millions tuned in via the aging technology of their ordinary television sets in 151 nations across the world.

This, we believed, is as competitive as it gets. Ajax, built up by many as the outstanding team in the world, had to overcome the intimidatory physical approach of a team from Porto Alegre that had surprisingly won the Copa Libertadores, the South American championship.

The wind was blustery, the turf worn and bare. But these young gods of the sport — the Gremio players, alone guaranteed \$15,000 a man to entertain us this night — could surely master nature.

"They were too nervous, both of the teams," said David Elleray, shortly after the final whistle on what had been a scoreless 90 minutes, a barren extra-time half-hour and then a wretched penalty shoot-out in which the first three kicks were off-target.

ELLERAY could put his finger on some of the faults because he was right there with the players. A housemaster at England's select Harrow School, he referees for the fun and the expertise of traveling the world and seeing its different cultures.

He took the names of two of Ajax's finest — Nwankwo Kanu and Edgar Davids — for fouls. Worse, he had to caution six of the Gremio players, and to send off the defender Rivaldo, who committed two unacceptably hurtful fouls in the space of three minutes.

The Brazilians, said Elleray, had an endearing way about them. They referred to him as "teacher" or "professor." He feels that both sets of players had a specific problem that could have been cured: FIFA, the international soccer federation, in its wisdom, has countenanced balls of lighter weight on the theory that this might lead to more goals. When the wind blows as it did

across Tokyo, when the field offers such uneven bounce, that ball becomes as difficult to control as trying to put one's foot on a live eel.

The players could have asked the official to change the ball. They did not have the presence of mind to do it. They could have put us out of the long misery of the game, but they failed to put that round object into the net.

Strange, is it not, to refer to such young and gifted forwards as Patrick Kluivert of Ajax, and Jariel of Gremio as inadequates. Yet Kluivert, just 19 and coveted by soccer's big spenders, missed one chance, and then placed another against the crossbar with his head.

Jariel, 22, was playing in Tokyo for his future: Glasgow Rangers of Scotland, Valencia of Spain, and at least one German club have scouted him.

THEY SAW nothing in Tokyo to hasten a transfer. The big, 6-foot-1 inch (1.85-meter) striker had three golden opportunities, he snatched nervously at them, missed them, and was substituted before the glorious end.

That Ajax should win the night, albeit by the expedient of four successful penalty kicks to three, is justice in the long term.

The team from Amsterdam is, by most yardsticks, the best around. The players, treated by their coach, Louis Van Gaal, as exceptional beings had flown the 6,000 miles (9,600 kilometers) to Japan in a KLM airplane that had had some of its seats removed so that the precious young men could spread out and relax.

Such exceptional pandering can put pressure on performers. But Gremio arrived with slogans too heavy to bear. "Nascido para vencer," born to win. They were born to nothing of the sort, beaten in the worst possible misappropriation of sport.

And it almost made me wish that, instead of watching the real thing, I had stayed in the downtown Tokyo studio where the technicians unveiled for us the concept of Virtual Reality.

Those who are developing this 3-D cinema effect, and who will eventually put screens that measure 80 meters (262 feet) by 35 meters in crowded stadiums, tell us the concept isn't ready, is not refined enough for immediate marketing.

One reason is that the Japanese are using the idea of filling more than one stadium for the same game as part of their World Cup 2002 bid. They have told FIFA that the technology could bring the games to millions more people and, by implication, bring tens of millions of dollars more to the sport.

Not until I witnessed the "Virtual Reality," and then suffered the game in the National Stadium, did I even think it possible that technology could match human endeavor. Now, I wonder.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of The Times.



Arlon, the Gremio midfielder, screening the ball from Edgar Davids of Ajax in the Intercontinental Cup in Tokyo.

Sentence Reduced, Tapie Appeals Again

Reuters
DOUAL, France — A French appeals court on Tuesday reduced the sentence of the politician Bernard Tapie in a soccer bribery scandal, from one year to eight months, and barred him from office for three years instead of five.

The sentence, on charges of match-rigging and interfering with witnesses, is the first prison term confirmed against the former cabinet minister, who has been declared bankrupt and faces several other lawsuits over his collapsed business empire.

Tapie, who has said he was terrified of going to prison, immediately made a new appeal to France's highest court that will put off any jail term. The court could take up to 18 months to rule.

His lawyer appealed against the verdict on technicalities. His immunity from jail as a member of France's National Assembly will be lifted automatically if the high court confirms the verdict. But it was not

immediately clear if his immunity as a member of the European Parliament could still protect him.

The delay could allow Tapie to turn to a new project — starting in a film by the prize-winning director Claude Louch.

Tapie had been sentenced by a lower court to a year in jail with another year suspended for bribing players of the rival league team, Valenciennes, to lose a game shortly before Marseille was to face AC Milan in the 1993 European Cup final. Marseille won both games, 1-0.

The scandal heralded the downfall of both Tapie, who has been declared bankrupt, and Marseille, which has been downgraded to the second division.

Tapie, once a protégé of former President François Mitterrand also faces more lawsuits for fraud and tax evasion in connection with his collapsed business empire, and a probe into slush funds allegedly used by Marseille to rig other games.



Bernard Tapie, former soccer boss, leaving court Tuesday.

The court sentenced Jean-Pierre Bernes, Tapie's right-hand man at Marseille, to 18 months suspended. Bernes said at the trial that the Valenciennes-Marseille case was just the tip of the match-rigging scandal. A former Marseille midfielder, Jean-Jacques Eydelie, was given a one-year suspended sentence for handing over the bribes.

Ilie Nastase: a Rising Political Star

The Associated Press
BUCHAREST — Ilie Nastase has a new game: politics.

The bad boy of tennis during the 1970s was named Sunday to a senior post in the governing Social Democracy Party. The party's national conference elected him to the national council, which plots party strategy.

Nastase, 49, was lured into the party leadership by his friend Adrian Nastase, who heads Parliament's lower house. The two aren't related.

"We are very good friends, and he constantly insisted on my entering politics,"

the daily Evenimentul Zilei quoted the tennis star as saying.

Other sports figures, including the Olympic high-jump champion, Iolanda Balas, have recently joined Social Democracy party. This seems to be part of the party's strategy to spice up its dowdy image prior to the elections.

Nastase, who as a young tennis player was known for his volatile behavior, said he was surprised by the party's decision to make him a leader.

"I just wanted to be a simple member," he said. "This vote means they decided I deserve more than that."

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Hapless Rangers Tie Devils

The Associated Press
Mike Richter stopped 40 of 41 shots as the New York Rangers tied the New Jersey Devils, 1-1. The Rangers, the Stanley Cup champions, have been winless for six games.

At 5:02 of the first period, Bruce Driver of the Rangers

shutout this season and helped Tampa Bay establish a franchise-high winning streak. Los Angeles dropped its fifth in a row.

Puppa preserved the shutout with two point-blank saves on Dimitri Khristich and Vitali Yachmenev after behind-the-net feeds from Wayne Gretzky early in the third period.

He also stopped Gretzky on a breakaway with 45 seconds left with a sliding pad save.

Sabres 2, Blues 0 Pat LaFontaine scored two first-period goals, one with St. Louis short-handed, and Dominik Hasek blocked 30 shots.

The Blues are winless in their last five games and have lost four of their last seven, scoring a total of 14 goals during that stretch.

The visiting Buffalo Sabres have won four of six and reached the .500 mark at 10-10-2.

NHL ROUNDUP

scored his first goal of the season, connecting against the clob he played with for 12 years. Bill Guerin tied the game with 14 seconds left in the first period. The Devils goaltender, Martin Brodeur, stopped 27 of 28 shots.

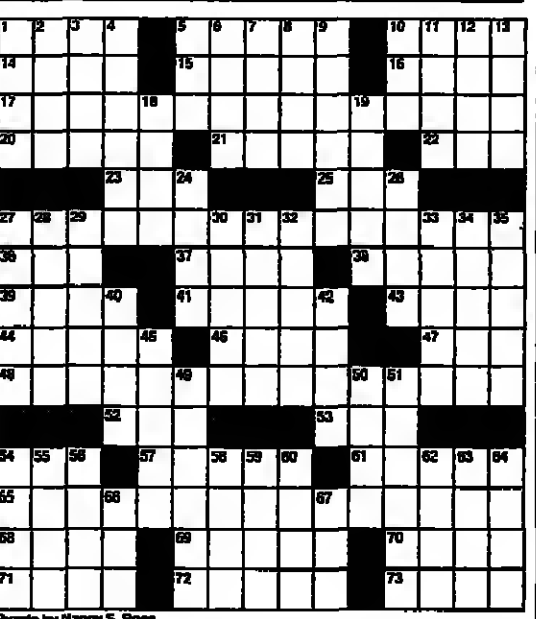
Lightning 2, Kings 0 In St. Petersburg, Florida, Darcy Puppa made 45 saves and Shawn Burr had a goal and an assist as Tampa Bay won its fifth straight. Alexander Selivanov also scored.

Puppa marked his first

CROSSWORD

- ACROSS**
- Mussorgsky's Boris
 - Apostle to the Slavs
 - Shakespeare title starter
 - Stewpot
 - 80s —
 - Loser's concern
 - BABE
 - Cadiz's country
 - Debatable point

- DOWN**
- Wee ones
 - Smack
 - Teatro
 - Scala
 - Jeunty
 - Larry King broadcaster
 - Cartoon bear
 - How a medium gets the message?
 - Crossers of seas
 - Cry of mock indignation
 - CHICK
 - Have vitality
 - homo
 - Logical or political precursor
 - Ordinary Man ("My Fair Lady" song)
 - Anklebone
 - Cicatrix
 - Destined
 - Infrequent
 - Conclusive: Abbr.
 - DAME
 - Colo. neighbor
 - Soap unit
 - Na Na
 - Simon and others
 - Wrinkled
 - BROAO
 - Alesi
 - Parcel out
 - Dash
 - Catch one's breath
 - 1923 Literature Nobel
 - New Jersey team



Puzzle by Nancy S. Ross

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| HILLO | BASSO | BAHT |
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SPORTS

Oakland's Old Pro Fails Against San Diego

By Tom Friend
New York Times Service

SAN DIEGO — The Oakland Raiders like their backup quarterbacks gray. George Blanda played almost to the ripe age of 50, and Vince Evans started on Monday night at the squeamish age of 40. But, as Al Davis earned, Evans is no Blanda.

Trailing by six points with four minutes left on Monday evening, Evans got two chances to be an old-time hero — and failed miserably. One drive ended on an incomplete fourth-down pass with two minutes 15 seconds remaining, and a final drive ended with an interception with 56 seconds left.

So, Evans acted his age, and the San Diego Chargers acted 1994. They defeated Oakland, 12-6, and injured the Raiders' opportunity to win the American Football Conference West. Oakland (8-4) will play host to Kansas City (10-2) on Sunday.

But San Diego, a Super Bowl team last season, finally had something to shout about. The Chargers, who had dropped six of their last seven, managed four field goals on Monday night and made the Raiders yearn for Jeff Hostetler's better health.

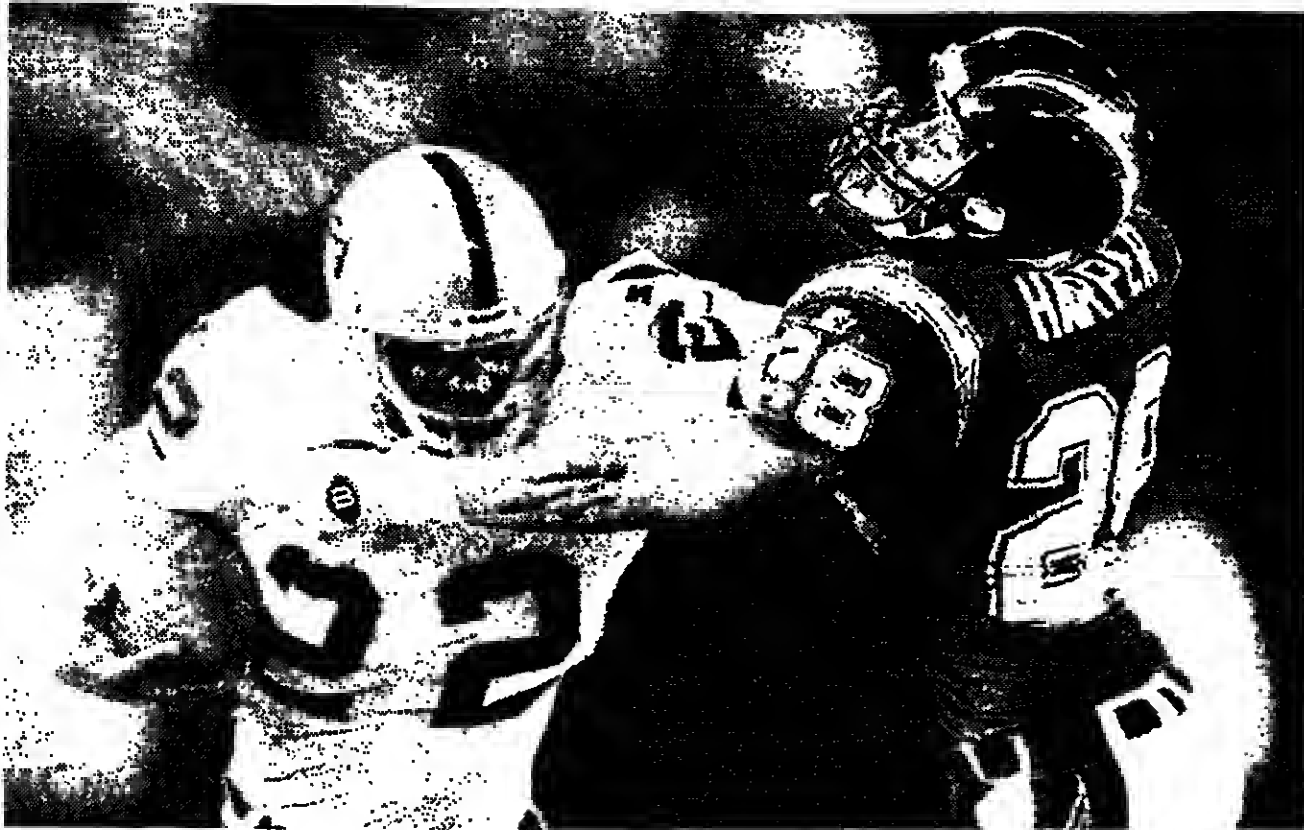
The game actually may have boiled down to a 40-yard dash. With San Diego ahead by 9-3 early in the final quarter, Oakland's Harvey Williams took a handoff from his own seven-yard line and made a beeline to the Chargers' end zone. But just beyond midfield Dwayne Harper (who also intercepted Evans's last pass) dragged Williams down from behind. The 60-yard gain led to a 26-yard field goal instead of a touchdown, and the Chargers still held a tenuous lead.

Moments later, the linebacker Junior Seau blitzed Evans, scared the quarterback into retreat and saw a defensive end, Chris Mims, pry the ball loose. Mims recovered the fumble, setting up John Carney's 38-yard field goal and increasing San Diego's lead to 12-6 with 4:02 remaining.

Aaron Hayden, a rookie from Tennessee, replaced Natrone Means as San Diego's backfield workhorse and he ran like a man beyond his years. His swerving, 15-yard gain in the second quarter was not only a work of art, but it also got Carney away from his beating pad.

Carney, who had back spasms an hour before game time, kicked a 23-yard field goal following Hayden's run, and the Chargers took a 6-3 halftime lead.

Both offenses came out whiffing in the



Oakland back Harvey Williams, left, fending off Dwayne Harper of the Chargers, who won with four field goals, 12-6.

first half. Evans, the oldest active player in the National Football League, started ahead of the injured Hostetler, and the only crevice the San Diego defense gave him was the screen pass. All the short gains (10 of 14 passes for 99 yards in the first half) added up to one field goal — a 30-yarder by Jeff Jaeger in the first quarter.

Evans was constantly harassed by the defensive end Leslie O'Neal, and he almost ended up like Hostetler: in pain. Hostetler has a seriously bruised left (nonthrowing) shoulder that left him dressed in denim on Monday night. Hostetler is in such agony, he may not return for next week's showdown with Kansas City.

Evans is the Raider alternative, but he apparently has the total trust of his Oakland teammates.

"I'll never forget it," said the Raider defensive end Nolan Harrison, who grew up in Chicago watching Evans play for the

Bears and the Chicago Blitz of the U.S. Football League. "We weren't used to seeing black quarterbacks in the league. But I had never seen a quarterback like this. He was running all over the place."

As for the Chargers, they are mere ghosts of their former Super Bowl selves. Means, their Pro Bowl rusher, is out with a groin injury, and the alternatives have been Rodney Culver, Ronnie Harmon and Hayden.

But Hayden was the one doing pirouettes on Monday night. He had 38 yards on five first-half attempts.

Trouble in Cards for Linesman

An NFL head linesman is being investigated by the league's director of officiating after Brett Favre, the Green Bay quarterback, said he was asked for his autograph. The Associated Press reported

from Green Bay, Wisconsin.

Favre said that when he got to his locker before Sunday's game against Tampa Bay, the referee, Jerry Bergman, walked up and said, "I hate to do this, but I have a few cards for my grandson."

Favre, who leads the NFL with 3,180 yards passing and 28 touchdown throws, said, "That's the first time I've ever seen that."

After signing eight football cards, Favre told Bergman, "Give me a couple of good calls today."

But after one of 22 whistles on an afternoon filled with flags and fisticuffs, Favre told Bergman he wanted those autographs back.

A NFL spokesman, Greg Aiello, said that such actions would violate proper officiating procedure and that the league's director of officiating, Jerry Secman, will investigate.

New Variety of Beijing Duck

The Associated Press

HONG KONG — Chicago has the Bulls, Minnesota the Timberwolves and now Beijing has the Ducks — and they're ferocious.

The Ducks are among 12 teams, including the Squirrels, the Panthers and the Tigers, ready to do battle when China's new basketball league, modeled on the National Basketball Association, starts its first full season on Dec. 10.

The promoter Nick Freyer, based in Hong Kong, said Tuesday that the Ducks vetoed the initial design for their logo, which showed a friendly duck.

"They said, 'You can't have a friendly duck! It will be eaten by the tiger. But when you have a ferocious duck, the odds are a little better,'" he said.

The finished logo, which will be prominently affixed on players' shirts, shows a fierce-looking duck, eyebrows

arched, with a streak of lightning in the background.

The games, to be played on Wednesday and Sundays, will be broadcast live by Chinese television and be relayed across Asia by the Hong Kong-based STAR TV, a satellite broadcaster, China's official Xinhua news agency said.

A total 132 games will be played in the 13-week regular season, and 22 in the four-round playoffs, which will end April 7.

The China Basketball Association has earmarked a record 1.1 million yuan (about \$133,000) in prize money for the league, whose teams are drawn from cities around China and from Chinese Army units.

The Ducks, also known as the Capital Iron & Steel Corp. team, chose their name because of roast duck, a famous dish from Beijing, Freyer said.

Raptors Fly Away, 101-98, As Golden State Rush Fails

The Associated Press

Willie Anderson scored a season-high 26 points, and Chris Mullin missed his attempt for a game-tying three-pointer at the buzzer as the Toronto Raptors beat the Golden State Warriors, 101-98.

B.J. Armstrong missed a three-point try

NBA ROUNDUP

for Golden State with three seconds left Monday, but Toronto's Jan Tabak then missed a pair of free throws. Mullin got the ball with 2.3 seconds left and his shot bounced off the rim, giving the Raptors their third straight.

Magic 96, Pistons 95 In Orlando, Nick Anderson scored 31 points and Orlando made four free throws in the final minute to hold off Detroit and win its fifth straight.

The Magic squandered a 10-point second-half lead, then nearly lost control again down the stretch because of poor free-throw shooting. Joe Wolf made a free throw for a three-point lead with five seconds left. But the Pistons' Lindsey Hunter apparently thought his team trailed by only

two and dribbled the length of the floor for an uncontested layup at the buzzer.

Jazz 114, Suns 106 Karl Malone pulled down two defensive rebounds and made three free throws in the final 25 seconds in Phoenix. Malone had 25 points to move into 15th place in NBA career scoring. He also had 12 rebounds. John Stockton had 22 points and 14 assists, and Chris Morris scored 17 points for the Jazz, which never trailed in the second half while stopping a two-game losing streak.

Bulls 107, Trail Blazers 104 Michael Jordan sank a 16-foot jumper to put Chicago ahead with 28 seconds to play, then stole the ball from Arvidas Sabonis and scored on a breakaway stuff to beat Portland.

The visiting Bulls blew a 13-point lead in the final six minutes before Jordan pulled out the victory, scoring 14 of his 33 points in the final quarter.

Sabonis scored 23 points in 28 minutes for Portland. His three-pointer with 2:50 tied the game at 102-102. Rod Strickland stole the ball from Scottie Pippen and scored on a layup with 1:51 to play to give Portland its only lead of the final quarter, 104-103.

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WASHINGTON MOVIES

Think of the Sequels

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — "The American President" is a delightful film in which Michael Douglas plays a widower chief executive hungry for a date. The lady of his dreams turns up in the form of a sassy environmental lobbyist played by Annette Bening.

The barriers to a happy ending arise from the difficult logistics of wooing in the White House, under the noses of a snoopy press, but it turns out they can be overcome. But before the final clinch, the audience is subjected to a five-minute presidential address, in which we learn: first, that you cannot truly love the Constitution unless you belong to the American Civil Liberties Union; second, that the only federal crime bill that makes sense is one banning assault weapons and handguns; and third, that when it comes to environmental measures, the stricter the standard, the better the bill.

In short, Rob Reiner, the producer-director of this basically entertaining movie, has loaded it up with the whole liberal message and told the ticket-buyers to swallow it along with their popcorn and soft drinks.

I wonder if he's thought about the trend he may be starting. I know that the left may have more clout in Hollywood than in most precincts, but there have to be some Republican moguls out there. If "The American President" is the hit it seems to be, how long until the West Coast fanatics of Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole decide to cash in?

The right wing could certainly demand equal time for "Speaker of the House," an adventure film about a dare-

devil, prematurely gray legislator on a mission to overthrow the "corrupt liberal welfare state." Unable to defeat him on the issues, his enemies harass him unmercifully with spurious ethics complaints and attempted exposes of his private life. The speaker's sinking polls jeopardize his legislative agenda. But just before the crucial vote on the budget bill during taxes on parents of junk-food-eating teenagers and abolishing OSHA and EPA, the speaker shows up unshaven and red-eyed at 7 A.M. in the House press gallery.

"I have an important announcement," he says. "I have just returned from Los Angeles, where I met a man who phoned me to confess to the most celebrated double murder of the decade. His initials are O.J. He is, in fact, a fourth-generation welfare recipient who, trying to break the cycle of dependency, asked his seventh-grade public school teacher to explain the difference between right and wrong and was told by her that Department of Education regulations specifically prevented her from answering that question. Since then he has kidnapped nine junior-high principals in succession and tortured them with the same question. He has been convicted in six different states, but never received a sentence of more than 60 days from our corrupt liberal judicial system."

"You will learn more about this nauseating case of public-sector perversion tonight when he appears on Larry King. But let me say to my colleagues who must vote this afternoon on our budget..."

Call it the C-SPANNING of Hollywood. If it catches on, the movie houses will be as empty as the polling booths.

Russell Baker is on vacation.

By Katherine Knorr
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — No one is a prophet in his own land, and so there was something particularly right about Jean-Claude Baker — American restaurateur né Jean-Claude Trouville in Burgundy — promoting with shocking American forthrightness to a bemused Parisian press the French translation of his biography of Josephine Baker.

"No city in the world has fallen in love the way Paris did with Josephine," Baker said. "I thought that the French, in their excessive and possessive love, I thought they would be interested today to discover the true story of the woman they adopted. Instead, it's 'You are destroying the myth.' In France, he said, 'she's a saint they mummified.'"

A saint she was not. Josephine could be funny, generous and quite courageous, as she demonstrated in the wartime activities that would earn her the French Medal of the Resistance.

She was also magnificently amoral, unreliable in her business dealings, odious with the help, careless with other people's money, a mythomaniac of big-screen proportions and not a little cracked.

The story of Josephine Baker has been told, by herself and others, in so many different ways that it resembles the fantastic sets of 1920s nightclubs, all trompe l'oeil, papier-mâché and mirrors.

After her death in 1975, Jean-Claude Baker, who had been late in his life her confidant, her majordomo and what the French would call her *souffre-douleur*, and who was spiritually adopted by her (and took her name), set out to find out a few facts about the girl from St. Louis who conquered Paris in 1925. The result, written with Chris Chase, was "Josephine: The Hungry Heart," published last year to critical acclaim in the United States and just out in France (A Contrario).

Josephine is a cultural icon, and a political one, too, in the charged racial atmosphere in the United States. She was the victim of the crude racism of an America where she could be a



Jean-Claude Baker with Josephine in Los Angeles in 1973.

headline performer, taking a large cut of a large gross, but couldn't stay at the St. Moritz hotel. She was an example of the weird culture that segregation created, with its opportunities for "passing" as white, and greater openings for lighter-skinned blacks. A tireless and sometimes tireless crusader against racism, late in life she was quite out of step with the Black Power movement.

She is perhaps the best example of France's hospitality to American blacks, a hospitality for which the French owe and then congratulate themselves a shade too loudly.

She thus figures prominently in the love-hate relationship between Americans and French, a relationship that thrives on myth and cultural one-upmanship. When Jack Lang criticized

Hollywood while praising what he considered to be the art of America's oppressed masses (graffiti, rap), he was only one in a long line of French intellectuals who have lectured Americans on the contradictions of their creative and brutal society.

There was therefore no one better-placed than Jean-Claude Baker, the 52-year-old owner of Chez Josephine in New York, who loudly proclaims his impatience with his native France, to look critically at the woman who toured the world ranting about Coca-Cola and capitalism and the lost soul of America.

This book is also his story. Shunned as a child because he was illegitimate, abandoned by his father when he was 14, as he tells it, he went on to success as a club owner, but was somehow

made whole — and eventually American — by his connection with Josephine, who had become French.

She was born Freda McDonald in 1906 to a woman who worked as a laundress and to an unidentified father (probably white), raised early on by a grandmother who had been born a slave, then with her mother's other children: she was called a bastard and mocked for her lighter skin.

"Josephine all her life was an angry woman," Baker said. "For 15 years she could never say Daddy. For 15 years she was too light for her mother. And then when she joined [the show] Shuffle Along, she was 16 years old, she was too dark. And she was still a nigger for white America." (Later she would burn her hair trying to straighten it, and burn her private parts while bathing with chlorine.)

She was practically illiterate but when she became, literally, an overnight sensation in Paris she proved a quick study. She wrecked her career and ruined herself more than once with impetuous decisions, but it can't be said people took advantage of her. "It was too easy to exploit Josephine," Baker said.

She married often, not always legally, and famously adopted 12 children of various races, whom she called the Rainbow Tribe and raised, in a manner of speaking, in her chateau in the Périgord. "She was a chameleon," Baker said. "It's not nice to say this was another performance, but it was another part."

She became a French star, but in America she was only a negro. When she played New York in 1936 in the Ziegfeld Follies, Time wrote: "In sex appeal to jaded Europeans of the jazz-loving type, a Negro wench always had a head start, but to Manhattan theatregoers last week she was just a slightly buck-toothed Negro woman whose figure might be matched in any nightclub show, whose dancing and singing could be topped practically anywhere outside France."

She short-circuited her biggest U.S. success, in 1951, in a pointless battle with Walter Winchell. She was bigger than Winchell, she insisted.

Not in America, it turned out.

Baker's project took 16 years of research, notably tracking down survivors of the various shows she was with. It took him into black neighborhoods in American cities that cabbies warned him against.

"Those people have been forgotten by black and white America," Baker said. "They were living in nursing homes, some were starving, but they had dignity. And when I came, with my accent, it brought back to them the memory of when they came to France. And they knew they were going to die soon. All have died but Maude Russell, who is 99 years old today, the first one who died the Charleston on a New York stage."

Baker's aim was not only to shed light on Josephine's background but also to go after some of the myths about Gay Paree.

The nightclubs of the '20s had a decadent brilliance that has never been replicated, and they attracted both royals and artists. But if they were classier and better attended than today's club joints, nevertheless men didn't go there for the intellectual stimulation.

France was a haven for black American artists (as it was for homosexuals and other "misfits") fleeing a prudish and provincial America. From the moment the Revue Nègre arrived at the Gare Saint-Lazare, its members knew they were in another world: "Evelyn Anderson told me, Jean-Claude, people received us so well in Paris, we almost forgot that we were colored people."

Still, the French attitude was less tolerance than a kind of indifference, a sense of privacy and distance that masquerades as live-and-let-live. American blacks were exotic and the music was great. They were also unthreatening.

"What is worse in the world, America, with slaves from Africa, what is worse, Europe, with a teeny country like Belgium, who stole the land of the black man in the name of pacification? To me both are the same," said Baker. "America for all its racism was the first to applaud great black talent."

POSTCARD

Have Miniskirt, Will Litigate: She Means Business

By Evelyn Nieves
New York Times Service

GREAT NECK, New York — Rosalie Osias's blonde hair spills out of a white cowboy hat, cascading down her shoulders. Holding a big fat cigar, she is wearing a blazer with the sleeves rolled up to her elbows, a skirt the size of a legal pad and spiked heels that would unnerve Sam Spade.

She means business. And just in case anyone is confused about what kind, Osias's full-page advertisement in two mortgage-banking trade newspapers also features her briefcase, strictly Standard Issue Attorney.

Until she began posing like Hugh Hefner's version of the Lady Lawyer, Osias says, no one in mortgage banking paid her any attention. "In that field, it's all run by men, it's all owned by men," she said. "It's

disturbing!" For 10 years, she had practiced real estate law — "I love that whole game" — building up a nifty little solo practice the old-fashioned, word-of-mouth way. But mortgage banking proved to be a different sport. "I was going to dinner," she said. "I was going to breakfast. I was going to every networking event I could." The best she could get, she said, was some banker saying, "You're cute."

Enter the ads in Mortgage Press and Mortgage Report, where Osias struts her stuff in the name of contracts and closings. Local and state bar associations may be screaming "Tacky," but Osias is laughing all the way to her expanding Rolodex. It turns out the ads have drummed up business, even though she has had to put up with flouting and date requests. "What starts out as flirting turns into business," she said.

Not to mention she is getting attention from all corners. Letters and calls have

poured in from all over the world. This is a mortgage banking lawyer with a publicist, a press packet and a growing clip file. Last month, she was interviewed on "Inside Edition." This month, "some Japanese magazine," she said. "The whole world is interested in a way that I didn't think anyone would be," she said. Ethics professors have asked her to speak about the ads. Motivational speakers have asked her to address groups on the subject of selling yourself. Gerald Uelman, from O.J. Simpson's defense team, plans to include her ads and their aftermath in a book he and his legal partner are writing about the legal life.

Which all means that Osias isn't planning to stop her ads any time soon. This despite the scorn colleagues have dished her way since her first one appeared last April. "I went to a function and people started pointing at me. People have sent each other the ads. I'm like the talk of the town."

FOR a time, the faxed love notes between the millionaire Bill Koch, 55, and Catherine de Castelbajac, 43, a former model, were so explicit that Koch's secretary suggested he set up a separate fax machine to receive them. But now Koch wants de Castelbajac out of his life and out of his Boston apartment. She, however, wants to stay and has pulled out all the stops in a court battle that has included readings of her fax messages. The issue facing a Boston court is whether de Castelbajac is a tenant at the condominium or a licensee and thus entitled to less protection. De Castelbajac won't really be out the door if she loses the battle. She reportedly gets \$80,000 a year in alimony from her former husband, the fashion designer Jean-Charles de Castelbajac, who also reportedly gave her a lump sum of \$100,000 and an art collection.



ROYAL LINEUP — Queen Noor of Jordan, left, and Princess Caroline of Monaco at a gala dinner in Versailles at end of a UNESCO conference on children's rights.

Eldridge Cleaver says he's no longer a protest leader and no longer involved in the civil rights movement. Since he underwent brain surgery last year after being beaten and robbed while buying cocaine, he has lost his taste for drugs and revolution. The former Black Panther will continue lecturing at colleges with Bobby Seale, a fellow former Panther, and work as an advocate for the elderly and against domestic violence.

James Hewitt, the army captain who was Princess Diana's lover, says he isn't going to betray her by disclosing the contents of more than 100 letters she sent him. According to an article in The Sun newspaper written by Anna Pasternak, author of "Princess in Love," Hewitt said he "would have died for Diana." Pasternak said Hewitt, 37, reacted "with a mixture of shock, relief and then fear" when Diana admitted

their affair in a BBC interview last week. "What Hewitt really wants now is to move on emotionally and close the stormy chapter of his life," she wrote. She added that Hewitt would never have spoken out "had Diana not urged him to do so."

Anna Nicole Smith, 27, has fully recovered since being hospitalized for mixing prescription drugs. Tooy Angelotti, her publicist, said her reaction to the drugs was exacerbated by the early stages of pneumonia, he said. The former Guess? jeans model and Playboy centerfold was also hospitalized in

February 1994 for mixing prescription drugs and alcohol. Beverly Hills police said Her millionaire husband, Howard Marshall, died in August at age 90. They were married 14 months.

A Los Angeles court fight between CelebSales of New York, a large-size clothes maker, and Roseanne and her ex-husband Tom Arnold was delayed by something even bigger. A federal judge bumped the trial for a criminal proceeding and rescheduled it for Feb. 27. The actors are seeking \$750,000 of what they claim was a \$1 million deal with

CelebSales of New York to promote a line of clothing. Roseanne, who designed the clothes, claimed they weren't being made to her standards. CelebSales has countersued for more than \$24 million.

Yoko Ono's latest works of art include bronze high-heeled pumps, a splintered bronze baseball cap and a bullet-shaped mirror — all splattered with red paint. Some gallery-goers in New York linked Ono's "Blood Objects from Family Album" exhibit to the murder of her husband, John Lennon, in 1980. But the artist said the nine sculptures were actually inspired by her birth. "All of us have a very bloody beginning," she said in The New Yorker magazine. "That is the first violence we experience."

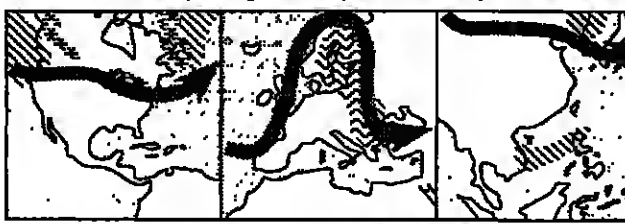
Nicholas Romanov, 73, who bears the title prince of Russia and is considered by some people to be the heir to the throne should it ever be restored, has no desire to lead the country. "I am not at all in favor of a monarchy for all kinds of practical reasons," he said during a stay in New York, adding, "The Russian people are not educated in the principles of constitutional behavior."

Ann Landers has heard it all but even after 40 years of giving advice some of it still leaves her speechless. "I've had some letters that are very, very sad. And hopeless," she says in a profile in The New Yorker this week. But people's problems have pretty much stayed the same. "The basic problems are family problems. This is No. 1. It's always been that way." At 77, Landers says she has no intention of retiring. "I plan to die at the typewriter," she said. "Just keel over at the machine."

WEATHER

Forecast for Thursday through Saturday, as provided by AccuWeather.

Europe				Asia			
High	Low	W	High	Low	W	High	Low
Algeria	16/61	12/53	18/64	12/53	18/64	12/53	18/64
Amsterdam	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131
Antwerp	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131
Athens	17/62	11/52	17/62	11/52	17/62	11/52	17/62
Birmingham	16/61	11/52	17/62	11/52	17/62	11/52	17/62
Bombay	10/50	3/37	10/50	3/37	10/50	3/37	10/50
Buenos Aires	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121
Calcutta	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151
Cairo	74/131	64/121	74/131	64/121	74/131	64/121	74/131
Canton	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121
Chongqing	74/131	64/121	74/131	64/121	74/131	64/121	74/131
Colon	16/61	11/52	17/62	11/52	17/62	11/52	17/62
Cuba	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121	64/121
Dubai	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151
Edinburgh	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131
Hankow	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Hong Kong	74/131	64/121	74/131	64/121	74/131	64/121	74/131
Kobe	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131
London	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131
Los Angeles	16/61	11/52	17/62	11/52	17/62	11/52	17/62
Manila	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151	94/151
Moscow	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Odessa	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Paris	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131	54/131
Perth	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Port of Spain	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Rangoon	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
San Francisco	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Shanghai	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Singapore	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Sourabaya	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Taipei	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Tokyo	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53
Yokohama	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53	6/37	12/53



North America
Dry and cold Thursday in New York City and Washington, D.C. Mild Friday, then chilly Saturday. Toronto and Chicago may have a period of snow Thursday into Friday. Vancouver to Portland will be rainy at times. A shower may reach as far south as San Francisco by Saturday.

Middle East
Dry and cold Thursday in New York City and Washington, D.C. Mild Friday, then chilly Saturday. Toronto and Chicago may have a period of snow Thursday into Friday. Vancouver to Portland will be rainy at times. A shower may reach as far south as San Francisco by Saturday.

Africa
Dry and cold Thursday in New York City and Washington, D.C. Mild Friday, then chilly Saturday. Toronto and Chicago may have a period of snow Thursday into Friday. Vancouver to Portland will be rainy at times. A shower may reach as far south as San Francisco by Saturday.

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EUROPE	
Armenia†	801-4111
Austria†††	022-903-011
Belgium†	0-800-108-10
Bulgaria†	01-800-0010
Croatia†	99-305-4288
Czech Republic†	00-425-08101
Denmark†	8001-0010
Finland†	800-100-10
France†	19-0011
Germany†	0130-0010
Gibraltar†	8000
MIDDLE EAST	
Bahrain†	800-001
Cyprus†	800-0010
Egypt (Cairo)†	510-0200
Israel†	177-100-2727
Jordan†	18-000-000
Kuwait†	800-288
Lebanon (Beirut)††	426-001
Oman†	0800-011-77
Saudi Arabia†	1-800-10
Syria†	0-801
U. Arab Emirates†	800-121
AFRICA	
Gabon†	000-001
Gambia†	00111
Ghana†	0111
Ivory Coast†	00-111-11
Kenya†	0800-10
Liberia†	797-797
Morocco†	002-11-0011
Sierra Leone†	1100
South Africa†	0-800-99-0123
Zambia†	00-899
Zimbabwe†	110-899
AMERICAS	
Argentina†	001-800-200-1111
Bolivia†	0-800-1112
Brazil†	000-8010
Canada†	1-800-225-5289
Chile†	1-23-0-0311
Colombia†	800-11-0118
Ecuador†	999-119
El Salvador†	190
Guatemala†	190
Honduras†	123
Mexico†††	95-800-462-4240
Nicaragua†	174
Panama†	109
Paraguay†	171
Venezuela†	00-011-120

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